“SEOSTA SAMALLA KOKO AJAN VISPATEN”

Non-Finite Verb Forms and Their Collocates in Translated and Non-Translated Finnish-Language Recipes

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Master’s Thesis

English Translation

Faculty of Arts

The University of Helsinki

November 2020

Tiedekunta/Osasto – Fakultet/Sektion – Faculty
Faculty of Arts

Tekijä – Författare – Author
Saara Siddiqui

Työn nimi – Arbetets titel – Title
"Seosta samalla koko ajan vispaten." Non-Finite Verb Forms and Their Collocates in Translated and Non-Translated Finnish-Language Recipes

Oppiaine – Läroämne – Subject
English translation

Työn laji – Arbetets art – Level	Aika – Datum – Month and year	Sivumäärä– Sidoantal – Number of pages
Master's thesis	November 2020	112 p.

Tiivistelmä – Referat – Abstract

This thesis examines non-finite verbs and their collocates in translated and non-translated Finnish-language baking recipes. The frequencies of non-finite verb forms in the two language varieties are compared, and collocates and colligate types occurring in connection with non-finite verbs are examined. These results are, then, viewed in relation to the translation universals of simplification, explicitation, interference and untypical frequencies. In addition, the frequencies are compared with frequencies in standard language.

The analysis finds most non-finite forms to occur with fairly concordant frequencies in both language varieties. However, some forms, namely the inessive of the E-infinitive and the illative of the MA-infinitive, present a higher frequency in translated recipes. The overrepresentation of the inessive is line with earlier studies (Eskola 2002 and Puurtinen 2005) and could be regarded as support for the universals of untypical frequencies and, potentially, of interference. On the other hand, significant differences are also found between translated texts, particularly with regard to the illative of the MA-infinitive and the instructive of the E-infinitive, which occur with frequencies both higher and lower than in the non-translated texts. These discrepancies might be considered a manifestation of untypical frequencies in translations, but overall support for explicitation or simplification is not found.

Most frequencies of non-finite forms analyzed are in concordance with frequencies in standard language (according to Ikola et al. 1989). However, the illative of the MA-infinitive is found to occur with a lower frequency and the instructive of the E-infinitive with a higher frequency than in standard Finnish. This thesis suggests that this may be due to the relationship between the function of recipes and the functions of the two verb forms.

In an analysis of collocate positions, the recipes present a tendency to left-positioning. Interestingly, the analysis shows no significant differences between translated and non-translated language. This contradicts earlier studies, which have shown right-positioning to be more prevalent in Finnish translated from English than in non-translated Finnish (Eskola 2004). In contrast with these studies, the results here suggest no interference from the source language in the positioning of collocates.

The material consists of forty baking recipes from four cookbooks, two of them translated and two non-translated. Recipe language, more specifically the language of their instructions, presents a highly conventionalized syntax with few complex structures and many imperatives (Pakkala-Weckström 2014). This thesis suggests, however, that non-finite verbs, instructives of the E-infinitive in particular, may be an essential component of recipe Finnish. The collocate analysis performed further suggests that it is the collocates – e.g. adverbials of time, manner and instrument – that make these non-finites meaningful, instructing the reader on how often, in which way and with what to process the ingredients, thus helping to fulfil the operative function of recipes.

Avainsanat – Nyckelord – Keywords
translation, translation universal, non-finite, non-finite verb, verb form, infinitive, collocate, collocation, colligation, recipe language, recipe Finnish, syntax, supisuomi, käännössuomi

Säilytyspaikka – Förvaringställe – Where deposited
Keskustakampuksen kirjasto

Muita tietoja – Övriga uppgifter – Additional information

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List of Abbreviations

NC	non-finite construction
NT	non-translated text
NT1	non-translated text 1
NT2	non-translated text 2
TT	translated text
TT1	translated text 1
TT2	translated text 2

1 Introduction

One of the objectives of Translation Studies has been to determine if and how translated language differs from non-translated language. Many scholars, such as Baker (e.g. 1993: 233–250), Toury (e.g. 1995: 259–279) and Chesterman (e.g. 2010: 38–48), have argued that systematic dissimilarities can, in fact, be found between the two. Consequently, several hypotheses have been formulated about *translation universals*, or linguistic features typical of translations. These proposed universals include explicitation, simplification, normalization, a decrease in repetition, an increase in grammatical conventionality, and the over- and underrepresentation of features of the source and/or target language. (Chesterman 2014: 86; House 2008: 10; Laviosa 2008: 123; Mauranen & Kujamäki 2004: 1; see also Mauranen & Jantunen 2005: 7 and Chesterman 2010: 38–48.)

One way to test these hypotheses is to compare translated texts with similar texts, sometimes referred to as *comparable texts*, in non-translated language. This has been done manually and, during the past few decades, by way of electronic corpus analysis. (Jantunen & Eskola 2002: 184–186; Laviosa 2008: 122; Mauranen & Jantunen 2005: 7–8; Mauranen & Kujamäki 2004: 1–2; see also Baker: 1993: 233–234, 241, 248.) This present thesis will follow in these footsteps, manually comparing the language in twenty cake recipes originally written in Finnish (*non-translated language*) with the language in twenty recipes of the same genre originally written in English and later translated into Finnish (*translated language*).

The linguistic feature examined here will be non-finite verb forms. These non-finite constructions (hereinafter referred to as NCs) are, of course, language-specific, and therefore make an interesting research topic for Translation Studies. Research can help to determine whether there are differences in how and with what frequency NCs are used in translated and non-translated language and to answer questions such as whether NCs typical of the source language are overrepresented in translated language. In addition, the collocational and colligational relations of NCs can be studied to establish what kind of words and grammatical functions frequently occur in connection with them. To this effect, Puurtinen (1995, 2005) has studied NCs in translated and non-translated Finnish-language children's literature, Eskola (2002, 2004, 2005) has analyzed them in narrative prose, and Pulla (2011) has examined them in business Finnish. This thesis will follow the same line of research, focusing on a unique genre: baking recipes.

Abounding in terminology, expressions and syntax specific to the genre, the distinct language of cooking recipes may be considered a *language for specific purposes* (Pakkala-Weckström 2011: 99,

2014: 337, Paradowski 2010; see also Nordman 1994, 1996). Notably, however, its characteristics and conventions vary from language to language and from culture to culture (Paradowski 2010, Teixeira 2009). This interlingual and intercultural variation not only requires a high level of expertise and knowledge from the translator (see e.g. Pakkala-Weckström 2011 & 2014, Paradowski 2010, Teixeira 2009), but also makes the genre a very interesting research topic for linguists and translation researchers. Furthermore, and perhaps more importantly considering the linguistic feature chosen as the research topic here, verbs in recipe language are often mentioned to occur predominantly in the imperative (see e.g. Nordman 1996: 563; Pakkala-Weckström 2011: 93, 2014: 330; Teixeira 2009: 179). Consequently, new information on the characteristics of non-finite verbs in recipe Finnish will, in my opinion, be of value and significance.

For these reasons, recipes, more specifically cake recipes, were chosen as the study material of this thesis. Analyzing the non-finite verb forms found in two translated and two non-translated Finnish-language baking cookbooks, this thesis addresses the following questions:

> i) With what frequency do certain non-finite forms occur in recipe Finnish? Do these frequencies differ from the frequencies in standard Finnish?
> ii) Are there differences between the frequencies of the NCs in the translated Finnish and their frequencies in the non-translated Finnish of cake recipes? If yes, which NCs are underrepresented and which NCs overrepresented in the translations?
> iii) What kind of collocates, i.e. lexemes that regularly and frequently co-occur, occur with the non-finite verbs, and how are they positioned in relation to the verb? Can differences be found between the non-translated and the translated material in the collocational and colligational relations, that is, the words and grammatical functions regularly combined with the non-finite verbs and their positioning relative to the non-finite verb?
> iv) How does the information uncovered in this analysis relate to translations universals, in particular the hypotheses of interference, simplification, explicitation and untypical frequencies?

I will approach these questions by examining non-finite verbs and their collocates in non-translated, original texts and translated target texts. The results will, then, be discussed in relation to a few relevant translation universals.

First, in chapter 2, I will present an overview of the non-finite verb forms of the Finnish language. Chapter 3 will explore comparisons of translated and non-translated language by discussing the

concept of and the research related to translation universals (3.1) and by presenting three studies of Finnish-language NCs in three different genres, namely narrative prose (3.2.1), children's literature (3.2.2), and business Finnish (3.2.3). In chapter 4, I will introduce the study material and identify the characteristics of recipe language. The analysis of the material will be carried out in chapter 5, and the obtained results and their relationship to previous research and to translation universals will be further discussed in chapter 6. In chapter 7, I will summarize questions raised by the analysis and consider further research possibilities.

2 Finnish Non-Finite Verbs and Their Syntagmatic Relations

Non-finite constructions (NCs) contain verb forms which are not finite – or, in other words, verb forms which lack grammatical tense and mood. The non-finites in the Finnish language can be divided into four types: *MA-infinitives*, *E-infinitives*, *A-infinitives,* and *participles*. (ISK 2004: § 490.) This study will focus on the first two, and one form (namely the translative) of the third; the base form of the A-infinitive will be excluded for constituting over half of all occurrences of non-finite verbs (see ISK 2004: § 1228) and for occurring in a much larger variety of grammatical functions than other non-finite forms, including subject and object (see ISK 2004: § 493).

All infinitives have a nominalizing marker identifying them as an infinitive, i.e. *-a-* in the A-infinitive, *-ma-* in the MA-infinitive and *-e-* in the E-infinitive (ISK 2004: § 490). The following infinitive forms are given in *Iso Suomen Kielioppi* (ISK 2004), 'A Large Grammar of Finnish,' for the verb *sanoa* 'to say,' with the nominalizing markers appearing in bold:

A-INFINITIVE	Base form	sano***a***
	Translative	sano***a****kseen*
E-INFINITIVE	Inessive	sano***e****ssa;* PASSIVE: *sanotta**e**ssa*
	Instructive	sano***e****n*
MA-INFINITIVE	Inessive	sano***ma****ssa*
	Elative	sano***ma****sta*
	Illative	sano***ma****an*
	Adessive	sano***ma****lla*
	Abessive	sano***ma****tta*
	Instructive	sano***ma****n*; PASSIVE: sano*tta**ma**n*

(ISK 2004: § 492; emphasis in the original, my translation.)

In addition, a participial form called the *TUA-non-finite* is used in a similar fashion to the inessive of the E-infinitive: either of these forms can constitute the core of *temporaalirakenne*, a temporal construction operating as an adverbial of time (ISK 2004: § 543, § 876). Because of this shared role, the TUA-non-finite will be included in the analysis performed in this thesis.

All these non-finite forms, also called nominal forms, share characteristics with both verbs and nouns. Similarly to verbs, they may take arguments, e.g. an object. On the other hand, they differ from finite verbs in that they have no tense or mood. (ISK 2004: § 490.) Grammatical person may be expressed, in some of these forms, using a possessive suffix (ibid.), a ending which is usually attached to nouns to express person and which cannot be affixed to finite verb forms (ibid.; ISK 2004: § 95–96,

§ 105). Furthermore, similarly to nouns, non-finite verb forms can be inflected to express case. They do not, however, receive all cases that nouns do, nor can they express number. (ISK 2004: § 490.)

All three infinitives perform the same functions as noun phrases do, functioning as subjects, objects, adverbial compliments and adverbial phrases (ISK 2004: § 490). However, these nominal verb forms may, similarly to finite verbs, receive direct and indirect compliments, forming infinite clauses that share features with finite clauses (ibid.: § 491). The inessive, the elative and the illative of the MA-infinitive may function as verb compliments or adjective modifiers, while phrases with the E-infinitive, the translative of the A-infinitive or the adessive of the MA-infinitive usually operate as adverbial modifiers (ibid.: § 492).

The translative of the A-infinitive usually describes a goal or purpose (ISK 2004: § 1259; Itkonen 2002: 80), similarly to the English *in order to*. In an example drawn from NT1 (see Appendix 1 for a listing of all the recipes examined and of the sentences with NCs in them), the translative presents a goal to be reached by the action of the finite verb of the sentence: *Koristele kakun pinta hedelmillä ja marjoilla **saadaksesi** värikkään lopputuloksen* (NT1I) 'Decorate the cake with fruits and berries **(in order) (for you) to obtain** a colorful result.'

In a similar fashion to the translative of the A-infinitive, the illative of the MA-infinitive can be used to express purpose (ISK 2004: § 594), particularly in connection with verbs of movement (ibid.: § 494). To illustrate, this sentence instructs the reader to move the cake to a colder place so that its temperature drops: *nosta pohjaus **jäähtymään** jääkaappiin* (NT1B) 'place [literally 'lift'] the filled cake into the fridge **to cool**.' Furthermore, this form implies a high level of certainty that the action described by the non-finite verb will take or has taken place (ISK 2004: § 549) – for instance, certainty that the cake will, in fact, become cooler if put in the fridge.

In addition, the illative of the MA-infinitive can function in a similar fashion to noun phrases in the illative case or even co-occur with them (ibid.: § 494); in the example drawn from NT1B, for instance, the noun *jääkaappiin* occurs in the illative. When used in connection with a noun phrase in the same case, the illative of the MA-infinitive implies that the action of the non-finite form will follow the action of the verb of the main clause and take place in the location expressed by the noun phrase (ISK 2004: § 494); here, once moved, the cake will cool inside the fridge. The implied subject of the illative of the MA-infinitive can be the implied subject or object of the main clause (ibid.: § 550), e.g. the cake (*pohjaus*), which functions as the object of the imperative verb *nosta* in NT1D.

Three forms, the adessive and the abessive of the MA-infinitive and the instructive of the E-infinite, are often used to express manner or means (Ikola et al. 1989: 336, 346, 425–427; ISK 2004: § 494, § 515; Itkonen 2002: 77–78). This is illustrated by a sentence from NT2, where the function of the adessive is to explain the means through which the action of the finite verb can take place: *Varmista kypsyys **pistämällä** kakkua puutikulla* (NT2D) 'Test for doneness **by [way of] inserting** a wooden stick into the cake.' The instructive of the E-infinitive, too, expresses manner (ISK 2004: § 495, § 515–516), as demonstrated by the following example: *keitä koko ajan **sekoittaen*** (NT1D) 'boil, **stirring** the entire time.' Both the adessive of the MA-infinitive and the instructive of the E-infinitive usually indicate at least partial simultaneity with the finite clause to which they are attached (ibid.: § 518). In contrast, the abessive is their negative equivalent (ibid.: § 515), as exemplified by NT2: *kun tippa kinuskia jähmettyy kakun reunalle **imeytymättä** kakkuun* (NT2C) 'when a drop of the caramel solidifies on the side of the cake **without being absorbed** into the cake.' All three forms usually share the subject of the finite clause (ibid.: § 515), similarly to these three examples drawn from the material.

As noted earlier, the inessive of the E-infinitive is used in the temporal construction, which functions as an adverbial of time (ISK 2004: § 495, § 543–548; see also Itkonen 2002: 81–82) as shown by NT2: *pohjan **paistuessa*** (NT2E) '**while** the cake **bakes**.' Another form performing the same function is the TUA-non-finite (ISK 2004: § 543), here drawn from NT2: *vasta kakun **jäähdyttyä*** (NT2J) 'only after the cake **has cooled down**.' As non-finite forms, they lack tense, but can, nonetheless, express time relationships (ibid.: § 490): the previous form usually suggests at least partial simultaneity with the action of the finite verb, while the latter usually describes priority or posteriority (ibid.: § 543–545). The inessive of the E-infinitive has both an active and a passive form (ibid.: § 543, § 548): *pohjan **paistuessa*** 'while the cake bakes' (active voice); ***tarvittaessa*** (NT1A) 'when needed' (passive voice). The TUA-construction, on the other hand, is, morphologically speaking, a passive, nevertheless used in the same way as the active inessive (ibid.: § 543). The use of the passive and active voices of the inessive in the material will be analyzed in 5.6.2.

Typically, non-finite phrases are grammatically subjectless (ISK 2004: § 492). In such cases, the non-finite form usually shares the subject of the main verb of the sentence: the agent of the non-finite form is the same as the main verb's (see e.g. Itkonen 2002: 77, 78, 80). However, some NCs may take a subject in the form of the genitive case or a possessive suffix (ISK 2004: § 492; see also Ikola et al. 1989: 315 and Itkonen 2002: 81): *Luumukermaa valmistaessa**si*** (NT1J) 'When preparing the plum cream,' for instance, has the suffix *-si* for the second-person singular, and in ***pohjan** paistuessa* (NT1J)

'while the cake bakes,' *pohja* occurs in the genitive. These features will be examined with reference to the inessive of the E-infinitive in 5.6.2.

Some research has been performed on the frequencies of non-finite forms in Finnish. Ikola et al. (1989) have examined the frequencies of some non-finite verb forms in standard Finnish and a number of Finnish dialects, calculating the percentage of sentences to present each verb form. Because the written, edited and published Finnish in cookbooks represents standard language, only the numbers in the standard-Finnish subcorpus of the *Lauseopin arkisto (*'Archive of Syntax') corpus used by Ikola et al. (1989) will be presented here (table 1). This subcorpus has 190,917 tokens and 27,339 sentences (ibid.: vii).

Table 1. The number of occurrences and the frequencies of non-finite verb forms in standard Finnish according to Ikola et al. (1989).

	Occurrences	**Frequency per 100 sentences**
A-infinitive, translative	104	0.4
E-infinitive, inessive	515	1.9
E-infinitive, instructive	439	1.6
TUA-non-finite	147	0.5
MA-infinitive, inessive	182	0.7
MA-infinitive, elative	33	0.12
MA-infinitive, illative	1,047	3.8
MA-infinitive, adessive	164	0.6
MA-infinitive, abessive	264	1.0

As can be seen from table 1, the frequencies of non-finites vary considerably, the lowest number being 0.12 (per 100 sentences) for the elative of the MA-infinitive and the highest 3.8 for the illative of the same infinitive. Several forms, namely the translative of the A-infinitive, the TUA-non-finite and the inessive, elative, adessive and abessive of the MA-infinitive, occur in just 1 or less sentences per every 100 sentences. The frequencies of the two forms of the E-infinitive (1.6 for the inessive and 1.9 for the instructive) are somewhat higher and do not differ considerably from each other. The

illative of the MA-infinitive occurs twice as often (3.8) as the second common form, the instructive of the E-infinitive. In 5.2, I will compare these frequencies with the frequencies in the material of this thesis.

On the basis of the standard-Finnish subcorpus of *Lauseopin arkisto*, ISK (2004: § 1228) lists a percentage for each infinitive form. As perhaps expected, the most common infinitive form is the base form of the A-infinitive, which constitutes 55.4% of all infinitives. Representing 16.7% of the infinitives, the illative of the MA-infinitive is the second most common form, followed by the inessive and instructive of the E-infinitive, constituting 8.6 and 7.2% of infinitives, respectively. The remaining forms occur in smaller quantities, exhibiting percentages of 4.2 or lower. Table 2 lists the percentages of all infinitive forms except the instructive of the MA-infinitive, as presented by ISK (ibid.):

Table 2. The percentage of each infinitive form of all infinitives in standard Finnish according to ISK (2004: § 1228).

	%
A-infinitive, base form	55.4
A-infinitive, translative	1.8
E-infinitive, inessive	8.6
E-infinitive, instructive	7.2
MA-infinitive, inessive	3.0
MA-infinitive, elative	0.5
MA-infinitive, illative	16.7
MA-infinitive, adessive	2.6
MA-infinitive, abessive	4.2
MA-infinitive, instructive	*
TOTAL	**100.0**

** The percentage of instructives of the MA-infinitive is not presented in ISK (2004), probably on account of the rarity of the form (see ISK 2004: § 494).*

Since the base form of the A-infinitive has not been included in the analysis performed in this thesis, these percentages are not directly comparable to the percentages calculated for recipe language in 5.1. Nevertheless, they offer some information on the general tendencies of standard Finnish.

When used idiomatically, words in any language tend to go together with certain other words or grammatical functions. Similarly, NCs do not exist in isolation; they form syntagmatic relations with the words with which they co-occur. These frequent lexical co-occurrences are referred to as *collocations*. *Colligation*, on the other hand, is the co-occurrence of a lexeme and a grammatical function or position. (Jantunen 2009: 356–359; see also Jantunen & Eskola 2002: 197.) In other words, when baking recipes regularly combine *whisking* with *eggs* and *preheating* with *oven*, these combinations are considered collocations, and when the non-finite form *sekoittaen* 'mixing' frequently co-occurs with an adverbial modifier (see 5.5.1), the relationship can be referred to as one of colligation.

Although always somewhat regular, collocations and colligations can have different levels of variation: when used idiomatically, some words require the occurrence of a specific word or grammatical function in the surrounding cotext (i.e. the nearest textual environment [Jantunen 2004: 1]), while others present more potential choices for their collocates. Nevertheless, whether it is in the form of a strict restriction or a more flexible preference, lexemes condition the words around them. (Jantunen 2009: 358.)

Next, in chapter 3, I will discuss comparisons of translated and non-translated language. I will first explore the concept of translation universals and some criticism directed at it and then present three studies which have examined Finnish NCs in translated and non-translated language.

3 Comparison of Translated and Non-Translated Language

The differences between translated and non-translated language are, by no means, an exhausted topic. Many proposed translation universals overlap and can even appear paradoxical (Eskola 2002: 51, 61–62; Puurtinen 2005: 219; Pym 2008: 311–328), and some researchers, such as Paloposki (2002: 155), believe that these universals may, in fact, prove to be contextual or relative in the end. Nevertheless, many, including Baker, Chesterman, Eskola, Jantunen, Kujamäki and Mauranen (e.g. Baker 1993, Chesterman 2010, Jantunen & Eskola 2002, Mauranen & Jantunen 2005, Mauranen & Kujamäki 2004), believe that the systematic, scientific comparison of translated and non-translated language can provide valuable information concerning the tendencies of the former. These issues will be discussed in 3.1, while 3.2 will provide examples of studies searching for differences and similarities between the two language variants with reference to Finnish non-finite constructions.

3.1 Translation Universals

It has been debated whether translated language systematically differs from non-translated language (Mauranen & Kujamäki 2004: 1–2). Many scholars, including Baker (e.g. 1993: 233–250), Toury (e.g. 1995: 264–266) and Jantunen & Eskola (2002: 184–188), have argued that it is possible to uncover patterns present in translated language and to formulate generalizations regarding its characteristics. On the other hand, many, such as Chesterman (2004b: 11, 2010: 46), House (2008: 11–12), Paloposki (2002: 155) and Toury (e.g. 2004: 22, 25, 29–30), have questioned the possibility and fruitfulness of making absolutist statements about all translations irrespective of source and target language and time of translation. Others, for instance Tymoczko (1998: 554–556), have criticized the lack of criteria to determine what kind of translations and by whom should be included in the corpora used in studies exploring translation universals. Criticizing the entire concept, House (2008: 6, 11) has gone so far as to claim that “there are no, and can be no, translation universals”; she argues that since language is the basis of translation, any linguistic universals apply to translation, too, without constituting translation-specific universals. Furthermore, she (ibid.: 11–12) maintains that translation is a practical activity and an act of parole, not langue, and, as such, inherently specific to a language pair, direction, genre and time period. Despite the critique, the scientific search for the general tendencies of translation has nevertheless been encouraged by scholars like Baker (ibid.), Toury (ibid., 2004) and Chesterman (e.g. 2010).

When claims have been made regarding linguistic features or patterns thought to occur typically in translations, these tendencies have often been referred to as *translation universals* (Mauranen &

Kujamäki 2004: 1–2; see also Baker: 1993: 242–243, Eskola 2002: 51–62 and Jantunen & Eskola 2002: 184–186). These features distinguish translations from non-translations, and because of their universality, they must be found in all translations regardless of factors such as source or target language or genre (Baker 1993: 245–246; Chesterman 2004b: 3, 9; Toury 2004: 28). In this interpretation, the universal tendencies are considered a "product of constraints […] inherent in the translation process itself," which accounts for their alleged universality (Baker, loc. cit.). However, other terms, such as "law" (most famously used by Toury [e.g. 1995]), "generalization", "tendency" and "pattern," have also been used with reference to these tendencies. In contrast with the term "universal," these terms allow for exceptions and conditioned hypotheses not necessarily applicable to all translations of all languages, genres and periods. (Chesterman 2010: 43–44; Mauranen & Kujamäki 2004: 8–9; Toury 2004: 29.) In fact, rather than trying to prove the existence of truly universal features, some scholars, such as Toury (2004: 28–30) and Chesterman (2004b: 11, 2010: 44–46, 2014: 87), argue that it could prove more fruitful to explore conditioned generalizations and examine the conditions under which these general (but less-than-universal) tendencies might be found to occur.

The most widely discussed universals – or hypotheses of universals – include features such as explicitation, simplification, growing grammatical conventionality, standardization, normalization, reduction in repetition and the over- and underrepresentation of source or target language elements. (House 2008: 10; Mauranen & Kujamäki 2004: 1–2; see also Baker 1993: 243–245; Chesterman 2011: 176–177, 2014: 86; Eskola 2002: 51–62; Jantunen & Eskola 2002: 184–186; Laviosa 2008: 123.) Some of these proposed hypotheses overlap and can even be regarded as contradictory (Chesterman 2004b: 10; Eskola 2002: 51, 61–62; Puurtinen 2005: 219; Pym 2008: 311). Furthermore, a linguistic feature may be seen to represent more than one universal, and a universal may have many kinds of linguistic manifestations (Baker 1996: 180; Eskola 2002: 51).

For instance, Pym (2008: 318–319) has argued that the hypotheses of explicitation, simplification and normalization "clearly overlap," at least if following Baker's (1996) interpretation of them; he theorizes that perhaps these three universals, and the universal of leveling out (defined as "the tendency of translated text to gravitate towards the center of a continuum" by Baker [ibid.: 184] and manifested in less variance in translations compared to non-translations [ibid.]), are all just different aspects of one underlying universal. On the other hand, he (Pym 2008: 319) also argues that if measured by, for example, a reduction in sentence length, as suggested by Laviosa (2002: 61–62) and Baker (1996: 181), simplification may in fact contradict explicitation, since explicitation often results in longer sentences. According to Chesterman (2010: 41, 44), explicitation, first hypothesized and

studied by Blum-Kulka (1986: 18–21, 33–34), has, indeed, been interpreted in contradicting manners in Translation Studies. Simplification, on the other hand, can be found to occur in many features, such as lexical variety, lexical density (Baker 1996: 183; Chesterman 2010: 42) and syntax (Baker ibid.: 180–182). In fact, House (2008: 11) maintains that concepts such as simplification and explicitation are usually not defined precisely enough and are therefore too general to prove useful in research.

Similarly, Baker admits that explicitation and simplification may overlap (1996: 180, 182) and has argued that their definitions could be continually refined as more information on their concrete manifestations is uncovered in research (ibid.: 180). Pym (2008: 318), on the other hand, has suggested that because both improve readability, explicitation could perhaps be considered a type of simplification. However, implicitation, too, can be regarded as simplification if it results in a reduction in the complexity of syntax. For this reason, Pym has proposed that simplification, especially if it applies to all linguistic levels, could be a superordinate concept that includes explicitation, implicitation and other phenomena, such as normalization. (Ibid.). Furthermore, he (ibid.: 321) concludes that given the probabilistic nature of the formulations of the laws or universals by scholars such as Toury and, to an extent, Baker, contradictory tendencies on the level of linguistic features may in fact prove logical.

With reference to the two laws proposed by Toury (1995), of growing standardization (ibid.: 267–274) and of interference (ibid.: 274–279), Pym (2008: 311, 320–321) has argued that because of their contradictory nature, they cannot both be universal at the same time; he adds, nevertheless, that they may function as probabilistic descriptions of tendencies that vary according to sociocultural conditions. Toury himself has described the laws as “largely interconnected” (1995: 267), and suggested that when in a peripheral role in a society, translations present a tendency to gravitate toward the standard of the target language (ibid.: 271), and when holding a higher status, they may exhibit more interference (ibid.: 278).

Interference, then, has also been regarded as a potential feature of all translated language (Mauranen & Kujamäki 2004: 5; see also Eskola 2002: 58, 264). Some corpus studies (e.g. Mauranen 2004) suggest that while there are clear differences between translations from different source languages, translations are, in fact, often more similar to each other than to non-translations in the same language. This could mean that interference is an inherent feature of all translations and thus a translation universal (ibid.: 77–79). However, Mauranen & Kujamäki (2004: 5) admit that the topic needs to be researched further before any final conclusions can be drawn. Munday (2001: 118, cit. Munday 2008: 116) has proposed that the law of interference could be replaced with more specific

laws, e.g. of “reduced control over linguistic realization in translation.” In contrast, Pym (2008: 323) has argued that the concept of interference should not be abandoned. To illustrate, he adds (ibid:. 323–324) that studies (e.g. Bowker 2005 and Dragsted 2004) have suggested that the use of translation memory software may increase the level of syntactic interference (while also causing an increase in the level of standardization of terminology). He further argues that the influence of translation memories on not only syntax structure but also other translation choices should be regarded as interference, for instance when translators opt for a translation offered by a translation memory to avoid the risk of being held responsible for an erroneous translation (ibid.: 324). He echoes (ibid.: 325–326) Toury’s (1995: 271) idea of the status of translations in a society as a condition that affects the choice of strategy: when the source language is considered hierarchically superior to or more developed in a certain area (e.g. technical terminology) than the target language, interference is often better received than in situations where the hierarchy of prestige is reversed.

Moreover, it has been noted that since they are based on other texts, translations necessarily and naturally involve some amount of interference (Toury 1995: 276). Toury (ibid.: 275) has divided this interference into two types: negative and positive. In his interpretation, negative transfer is deviation from normal patterns in the target language and positive transfer the selection of patterns which are also part of the linguistic repertoire of the target language.

On the other hand, Toury (2004: 21–22) has argued that, while true, generalized statements such as “translation involves shifts” do not add to our understanding of translation because shifts are always part of translation by definition. He further argues that statements about types of shifts on too generalized a level, such as “translation involves simplification,” may not be of use either: either they are false (if taken to mean that translation only involves simplification, with no exceptions) or merely a possibility (if interpreted to mean that translation may – or may not – involve simplification), in which case the statement does not offer any new information (ibid.: 20). For this reason, Toury (ibid.: 22) claims that because of their extremely high level of generalization, true universals applicable to all and any translation will not increase our understanding or knowledge of translations. Consequently, he (ibid.: 15, 24–30) suggests the formulation and research of less-than-universal probabilistic explanations instead. He adds, however, that statements can be made about translations on different levels, contrasting idiosyncratic “regularities of performance” with general “regularities of the system,” the former expressed in terms of frequencies in individual instances of existing translations and the latter in terms of probabilities, applicable also to future translations. He insists the former not be confused with universals. (Ibid.: 18–20.)

Over the years, researchers have tested hypotheses concerning the tendencies of translated language by analyzing translations beside comparable texts, that is, by comparing translated texts to non-translated texts of the same genre in the same language. This used to be done manually until the development of information technology allowed for the faster testing of large electronic corpora, i.e. corpus analysis, in the 1990s. This development has enabled translation researchers to compare large blocks of texts and to draw more compelling conclusions. However, despite the claim by many researchers that their findings support one or more hypotheses, it has not been possible to confirm any of them. (Chesterman 2010: 38; Eskola & Jantunen 2002: 184–186; Mauranen & Kujamäki 2004: 1–3.) In contrast, some proposed hypotheses of universals have been shown to be false (Chesterman 2010: 38). Furthermore, with reference to the conditioned laws by scholars such as Toury (1995), Pym (2008: 321–322) has argued that studies examining comparable corpora alone cannot provide information on external conditions such as the level of prestige of translations in a society, which, according to the probabilistic formulations, could have an effect on linguistic features. He maintains that sociocultural and cognitive conditions should be taken into account when examining linguistic features or tendencies in translations (ibid.).

Because some hypotheses about translation universals concern the differences manifested in translations in relation to source texts and others their differences in relation to original target-language texts (non-translations), Chesterman (e.g. 2004a: 39–40, 2004b: 7, 2010: 40) has divided the hypotheses into two categories according to the kind of relation described: *S-universals* refer to features relating to differences between translations and source texts and *T-universals* to features concerning differences between translations and non-translations. The former include hypotheses such as interference, explicitation and standardization and the latter, simplification and the underrepresentation of target-language-specific items (ibid. 2004b: 8, 2010: 40). However, he admits that the relation between these two categories of universals is not always easy to determine (ibid. 2004b: 8).

If translation universals are in fact found to exist, research should also try to provide explanations for their existence (Chesterman 2008: 363, 2010: 38, 42). For instance, an explanation might be found in the cognitive process (ibid. 2004b: 10–11, 2010: 43; Toury 1995: 272, 275, 2004: 15). To this effect, Szymor (2018: 80–81) has argued that the linguistic differences found by her analysis between translated and non-translated language are caused by universal cognitive mechanisms rather than the translation process itself; she emphasizes the need to consider processes that apply to all language use as a possible explanation for the linguistic features found in translations (Szymor 2017: 12). She further argues that translation decisions are, in fact, the result of conscious cognitive

processing, and as such, subject to individual differences rather than universal (ibid.: 241–242). In addition, she claims that such differences, often seen as evidence of the existence of translation universals, may be the result of differences in the contents of the translated and non-translated corpora examined. Consequently, she concludes that it is possible that without differences in the content of the corpora, no differences would have been discovered between translated and non-translated language. (Ibid.: 1, 13, 242.)

Alternatively, an explanation for translation universals might be found in translator training. Explicitation, for instance, might be explained by the fact that translator training often emphasizes the role of translation as a communicative act which should take the reader into account by presenting the message in a clear manner. (Chesterman 2004b: 11, 2010: 43.) Furthermore, risk-averse strategies have been considered to manifest in translation universals. Pym (2008: 311, 313, 323–326) has argued that interference and standardization, for instance, might be caused by translators choosing a safe option less likely than others to draw criticism; the choice between interference or standardization as the safer option would depend on variables such as the level of prestige of the source and target languages and the position of translations in the target culture. However, he adds that risk-avoidance does not necessarily result in standardization or interference: sometimes, translators may be rewarded for taking risks on the linguistic level in an area such as advertising (ibid.: 325). Translation universals are, then, considered by some to be a by-product of sociocultural or economic factors (Szymor 2017: 1). In contrast with cognitive explanations for translation universals, Pym's risk-avoidance theory seems to view translation as consisting of conscious choices.

Interestingly, yet another explanation for translation universals has been suggested to lie, not in the translation process, but in the types of mediation that take place before a translation is published, such as editing (Chesterman 2010: 45). In fact, some scholars, e.g. Ulrych (2009: 221–232), have found other kinds of mediated text to present features previously proposed as translation universals, including explicitation, simplification and normalization. Others, such as Kruger (2012: 380), on the other hand, report no evidence for these "mediation universals"; in fact, Kruger's research into three corpora, one translated, one edited but non-translated, and one unedited and non-translated, found support for a translation-specific effect instead.

Combining these different explanations, Toury (2004: 24–25) has argued that there are often many types of conditions (which he calls "variables") at play: cognitive, linguistic, communicational and

sociocultural, and maybe more. He maintains that these different kinds of variables not only affect the translation process, but also each other (ibid.).

With reference to non-finite constructions, they have been connected to translation universals in different, even contrasting ways. Baker (1996: 180, 182), for instance, has suggested that they can be related to two universals, namely simplification and explicitation. In her view, finite constructions are easier to process than NCs and could therefore be considered to simplify a text; furthermore, she argues that finite constructions increase the level of explicitness, e.g. in time and causal relations (ibid.: 180). Accordingly, the use of NCs could then be considered contradictory to both simplification and explicitation hypotheses.

In agreement with Baker (1996: 180), Puurtinen (2005: 220) has argued that because NCs can make texts less readable due to their complexity and high level of information density, a large number of NCs can be considered to contradict the universal of simplification. In contrast with both Baker (ibid.) and Puurtinen (ibid.), Eskola (2002: 81–82) has claimed that since NCs are compact, condensed forms and, as such, syntactically economical, they can be regarded as simplification. Furthermore, she maintains that the implicitness of these synthesized forms, too, can be considered to simplify language. She admits, however, that taking into consideration the fact that due to their implicitness and compactness, NCs can sometimes be more difficult for readers to process than finite clauses, simplification is a complex phenomenon that allows for different interpretations. She, then, suggests that the simplification indicated by the overrepresentation of NCs is of a numerical order: these compact forms allow the translator to make do with fewer words and fewer finite dependent clauses. (Ibid.)

With regard to explicitness, one of the characteristics of NCs is that they do not clearly state the relationship between the events portrayed by the NC and the finite clause to which it is attached – in other words, they require more interpretation from the reader than finite dependent clauses do (Puurtinen 2005: 220; see also Baker 1996: 180). Consequently, and in line with Baker's interpretation (1996: 180), both Puurtinen (2005: 220, 2004: 168) and Eskola (2002: 82) have argued that the overrepresentation of NCs in translated language does not support the explicitation hypothesis.

In addition, the overrepresentation of NCs in translated language can be regarded as contradicting the universal of growing conventionality: if the non-translated corpus is considered to represent the grammatical conventions of the Finnish language, the higher frequency of NCs in the translated

language is clearly unconventional (Puurtinen 2005: 220). On the other hand, if translations are found to exhibit overrepresentation of the most typical non-finite forms and underrepresentation of the marginal ones, this can be seen to support the hypothesis of growing grammatical conventionality (Eskola 2002: 83).

If viewed in terms of Toury's (1995) laws of growing standardization and interference, it could perhaps be argued that NCs can be seen to relate to both laws, albeit in different ways. For instance, when a NC which is part of target language repertoire occurs in a target text due to source text influence, this could be interpreted as positive interference (or transfer, as called by Toury 1995: 275); conversely, if source text influence results in non-normal patterns, this could qualify as negative interference. On the other hand, if a translation exhibits a form which differs from the source text and is more common or "habitual" (term used by Toury 1995: 268–269) in the target language, this might represent growing standardization.

Since this thesis is based on a small-scale, manual analysis, it is self-evident that it will not confirm or disprove any translation hypotheses. Nevertheless, it will be interesting to view its results in relation to some proposed translation universals and, also, in comparison with some studies, namely Eskola (2002, 2004, 2005), Puurtinen (2005) and Pulla (2011), dedicated to the analysis of NCs in translated and non-translated Finnish. These studies will be presented next, in 3.2.

3.2 Finnish Non-Finite Constructions in Translated and Non-Translated Language

As stated earlier, NCs in translated Finnish have been examined before. Three such studies will be presented here: 3.2.1 will describe Eskola's studies (2002, 2004, 2005) of narrative prose, 3.2.2 will cover Puurtinen's analyses (1995, 2005) of children's literature, and 3.2.3 will outline Pulla's examination of business Finnish.

3.2.1. Non-Finite Constructions in Finnish-Language Narrative Prose

Eskola (2002, 2004, 2005; Jantunen & Eskola 2002) has analyzed Finnish sentence structures in fiction translations from two different source languages, English and Russian, and compared them with structures in comparable texts originally written in Finnish. Based on corpus analysis, the research aims to provide information on how the tendency for untypical frequencies, often assumed to appear universally in translations, manifests itself on the syntactic level. Another objective is to determine whether sentence structures in translated Finnish are more compact, i.e. contain a larger number of NCs, than in non-translated Finnish. (Eskola 2002: 15; 2004: 88; 2005: 225.)

Eskola's analysis (2002, 2005) consists of six types of phrase structure, all of which can be used to replace finite dependent clauses (Eskola 2002: i; 2005: 225) (Eskola 2004 focuses on three of these six structures). In addition to the number of these non-finites constructions in the research material, the studies (Eskola 2002, 2004, 2005) analyze the linguistic context in which the NCs occur: what types of verbs occur in connection with them and whether dependents precede or follow the non-finite verbs. Resulting in an interesting and thought-provoking analysis, her research shows that some NCs present significant differences in linguistic context, such as the finite lexemes used in connection with the non-finite forms (e.g. Eskola 2004: 91). Nevertheless, her findings do not support the hypothesis of compactness of sentences, i.e. a high level of non-finite clauses, in translated narrative prose (Eskola 2002: 256, 2005: 239).

One of the NCs examined by Eskola (2002, 2004, 2005), and the one most relevant for this present thesis, is the temporal construction, the core of which is either the TUA-non-finite or the inessive of the E-infinitive (see chapter 2). In the non-translated Finnish of Eskola's research material, there are a total of 1,107 temporal constructions, while the Finnish translated from English presents 1,830 and the one translated from Russian 1,849. The inessive of the E-infinitive is particularly prominent in the Finnish translated from English: it occurs 1,557 times, twice the amount (762) found in the non-translated Finnish; the Finnish translated from Russian falls between these extremes with 1,145 occurrences. Conversely, there are less occurrences of the TUA-non-finite in the Finnish translated from English than in the non-translated Finnish: 273 compared with 345. In contrast, the same structure occurs 704 times in the Finnish translated from Russian, which is more than twice the number in non-translated Finnish. (Eskola 2002: 138–139; 2004: 93; 2005: 232.) Eskola (2002: 154; 2004: 94) suggests that these differences may be due to source language stimuli, but recognizes that data is needed on the actual frequencies of these elements in the source languages before such conclusions can be drawn.

As for collocations, such as objects, predicatives and adverbials, of the temporal construction, these show a tendency to precede the non-finite verb in the non-translated Finnish examined by Eskola: 55.0% of them occur left-positioned (to the left, or before, of the verb). In translated Finnish, the corresponding percentages are considerably lower, 25.6 for the Finnish translated from English and 23.0 for the Finnish translated from Russian. Consequently, Eskola argues that similarly to the untypical frequencies of temporal constructions, the tendency of translated language to post-modifiers may be due to influence from the source languages. (Eskola 2002: 151, 155; 2004: 94; 2005: 232; see also 2004: 96; 2005: 239.)

Eskola's analysis also includes the final construction, formed by the translative of the A-infinitive, which, contrary to English and Russian, can be replaced with a finite, interchangeable equivalent in Finnish. With direct non-finite equivalents in the source languages, this NC, too, is overrepresented in translated language: 232 occurrences in non-translated Finnish compared with 628 in the Finnish translated from English and 564 in the Finnish translated from Russian. (Eskola 2004: 94; 2005: 233.) Eskola suggests that this overrepresentation, too, may have been caused by source text stimuli (Jantunen & Eskola 2002: 193). Similarly to the temporal construction, here, too, the percentage of collocates to precede the non-finite verb is larger in non-translated language than in translated language: 7.7% of qualifiers in the non-translated material occur left-positioned, while the percentages for Finnish translated from English and Russian are 1.9 and 2.4, respectively (Eskola 2004: 94).

The hypothesis of source text stimulus also applies, Eskola maintains, to some of the other constructions examined in her study; she claims that translators are more prone to use features present in the source text. Therefore, her research can be considered to provide support for the common claim – or translation universal – of a tendency in translated language to untypical frequencies of linguistic features, more specifically the underrepresentation of features unique to the target language and the overrepresentation of features with frequent equivalents in the source language. (Eskola 2002: 256–267; 2004: 96–97; 2005: 239–240.) In fact, she suggests this as a new, more specific translation universal hypothesis: linguistic features typical of and unique to the target language are underrepresented and features with a clear, frequent equivalent in the source language overrepresented in translations (Jantunen & Eskola 2002: 195). She further argues that the phenomenon can be regarded as simplification, as translators would appear not to realize the full potential of the target language, instead maintaining source language structures even when other possibilities exist (Eskola 2004: 96). In other words, when the target language offers two options – one finite and the other non-finite – to express an idea while the source language only offers one, translations are more likely to choose the form (whether finite or non-finite) offered by the source language, resulting in overrepresentation of that form and underrepresentation of the other (Jantunen & Eskola 2002: 194–195).

Contrary to the prescriptive ideas expressed by many scholars in the past, particularly before the onset of Descriptive Translation Studies, Eskola (2004: 96–97; 2005: 241) stresses that the potential divergence of frequencies in translated language from non-translation language should not be considered a negative feature, but rather, as an inevitable feature caused by the nature of the

translation process. This seems to be the reason she prefers the term “stimulus” to the more commonly used “interference,” which has, admittedly, had some negative connotations.

3.2.2 Non-Finite Constructions in Finnish-Language Children’s Literature

Puurtinen (e.g. 2004, 2005) has examined children’s literature translated into Finnish and compared it with the non-translated Finnish of the same genre, focusing her analysis on linguistic features thought to be under- or overrepresented in translated Finnish. Among these features are NCs, which her previous research (e.g. Puurtinen 1995) showed to be more frequent in translated children’s fiction than in comparable non-translated Finnish.

Analyzing large corpora of translated and non-translated children’s literature, Puurtinen (2005: 213) found that the translated language in the corpora presents 364.3 temporal structures per 100,000 tokens, while the number for the non-translated Finnish is a little over half of that: 196.7. Similarly, the final construction, i.e. the translative of the A-infinitive, occurs much more frequently in translated language, exhibiting a frequency of 125.5 occurrences per 100,000 tokens in translations compared with 43.1 in non-translations (ibid.: 214). Comparing target texts with source texts, her previous research (Puurtinen 1996, cit. Puurtinen 2005: 214) showed that only about a third of the NCs in translated children’s literature are a formal equivalent of a source text structure – in other words, finite clauses in source texts are often replaced with NCs in translations. This may be seen to contradict what Eskola (2002, 2004, 2005; see 3.2.1) has argued about the influence of source text features on the NCs found in translations. (With reference to clause connectives, on the other hand, Puurtinen [2004: 173, see also p. 171] suggests that their untypical collocates and functions in translated language may be stimulated by source text constructions – in other words, here she does find the hypothesis of source text stimuli plausible.)

According to Puurtinen (2005: 220), the untypically high frequencies of NCs – which she considers more complicated and more difficult to understand than finite clauses – in translations contradict the simplification hypothesis. Furthermore, since, contrary to finite clauses, non-finite constructions leave some information, e.g. the relation of the two clauses, implicit, she argues that the high level of NCs in translated Finnish challenges the explicitation hypothesis. With reference to the interference hypothesis, she (ibid.: 221) maintains that no argument can be made for or against it since no comparison of the translations to the source texts has been performed.

3.2.3 Non-Finite Constructions in Business Finnish

Pulla (2011) has examined certain NCs, namely the ones of the temporal construction (see chapter 2), i.e. the inessive of the E-infinitive and the TUA-non-finite, in business Finnish. Comparing the translated language in the Finnish-language version of *The Monthly Bulletin* of the European Central Bank (*Euroopan keskuspankin Kuukausikatsaus*) with the non-translated language in publications by the Bank of Finland, she found evidence of some untypical frequencies in translated business Finnish.

In Pulla's material, the temporal construction is equally common in translated and non-translated language, occurring 288 times in translation and 289 in non-translations (Pulla 2011: 29, 51). There is, however, a slight difference in the frequencies per 1,000 sentences, with non-translated business Finnish presenting 29 and translated business Finnish 30 temporal constructions for every 1,000 sentences (ibid.: 30). Since a higher frequency of NCs can be considered to make texts more complex or compact, this could be interpreted as going against the simplification hypothesis (ibid.: 55–56). However, as noted by Pulla (ibid.: 30, 51), the difference between translated and non-translated language is much smaller than in the studies by Eskola (2002) or Puurtinen (2005).

Interestingly, however, when the two non-finite forms of the temporal construction are examined separately, only the TUA-non-finite is more common in the translated material, with a frequency of 18 per 1,000 sentences, compared with just 3.9 in the non-translated material (Pulla 2011: 31–32). In contrast, the frequency of the inessive of the E-infinitive is, in fact, lower in translated language (18 per 1,000 sentences) than non-translated language (25 per 1,000 sentences) (ibid.: 30). In other words, while both NCs present a difference between the frequency of the translated language and that of the non-translated language, the differences occur in opposite directions. Nevertheless, both divergencies can be interpreted as evidence for the hypothesis concerning untypical frequencies in translations (ibid.: 55).

It should be noted that the material used by Pulla (2011) is much smaller than the corpora used by, for instance, Puurtinen (1995) and Eskola (2002). For this reason, Pulla (ibid.: 1, 10, 22) argues that – similarly to this present thesis – her aim is not to make broad generalizations, but rather to test some translation universal hypotheses in a genre previously not examined from this perspective. Nevertheless, the size of her material should be kept in mind when considering the implications of her research.

Similar in size to Pulla's material, the material of this thesis will be introduced next, in chapter 4.

4 Material

As stated earlier, this thesis will analyze certain NCs in forty cake recipes drawn from four cookbooks published in Finland. This chapter will present this material in more detail: 4.1 will discuss the books, and 4.2 will assess the language of recipes as a language variety.

4.1 The Cookbooks

The material of this study consists of four cookbooks, two of them Finnish translations of English-language source texts (translated language) and the other two originally written in Finnish (non-translated language). *Gorgeous Cakes*, the Finnish title of which is *Upeat kakut – helposti herkullista* ('Gorgeous Cakes – Delicious Easily'; all translations of book and chapter names and of example sentences in this thesis are mine), by Annie Bell was first released in 2005 and then translated into Finnish by Riitta Pohjanluoma a year later. Originally published in 2010 and then translated by Kiti Szalai, *Bake & Decorate – Tea Time Luxury* by Fiona Cairns was published in Finnish under the title of *Kahvipöydän kauneimmat kakut* ('The Most Beautiful Cakes of the Dessert Table') the following year. Out in 2008, *Mestari Aleniuksen kakkuklassikot* ('The Cake Classics of Chef Alenius') was written by Timo Alenius, and *Tee hyvä kakku – Kodin kakkukoulu* ('Make a Good Cake – a Cake School for the Home') by Sirpa Talka was published in 2005.

As the name of *Mestari Aleniuksen kakkuklassikot*, hereinafter referred to as NT1 (non-translated text 1), suggests, the cakes presented in this book are traditional. Each recipe is an entirety in itself, including the recipes for the batter and the filling(s) and instructions for the decoration of the cake. There are also sections devoted entirely to decorations, such as marzipan roses. In comparison, the recipes in Talka, or NT2, include both traditional and modern baked goods. Nevertheless, the recipes have many of the same elements as the recipes in NT1 do: they explain how to make the batter and the filling(s) and provide tips on decorating whenever applicable.

Similarly to the two non-translated texts, Bell, or TT1 (translated text 1), presents complete recipes, including instructions for fillings and decorations. In contrast, Cairns, or TT2, is structured in a slightly different way from the other texts. The main portion of the book is divided into two: baking and decorating. The baking section presents the recipes for the batter and the filling(s), and sometimes a frosting, for each cake, while the decorating section offers detailed instructions and suggestions for a variety of decorative styles. Regardless of this difference, the elements of the recipes do not differ greatly from the recipes in the other three texts studied.

4.2 Recipe Language

Recipes have been described as a highly conventionalized genre with little structural and linguistic variation (Nordman 1994: 53, 1996: 557–560; Taavitsainen 2006: 272). In addition, the purpose of recipes is clear and well defined (Görlach 1992: 736, 746): they provide instructions (Nordman 1994: 53), and therefore have an operative function (Pakkala-Weckström 2014: 329). Presenting genre-specific terms and syntax, recipe language can be seen to constitute a *language for specific purposes* (LSP) (Nordman 1994: 53; Pakkala-Weckström 2011: 99, 2014: 337). However, because it also includes a large amount of non-specialized language, it can be regarded as located on the border between LSP and standard language aimed at the general public (Nordman 1994: 53).

Although conventions do vary from culture to culture (see e.g. Nordman 1996, Pakkala-Weckström 2014, Paradowski 2010, Teixeira 2009), the macrostructure of recipes tends to stay the same (Nordman 1994: 53–55, 1996: 558; Pakkala-Weckström 2014: 329; Taavitsainen 2006: 272). It usually includes a minimum of three parts: a title, an ingredient list, and instructions (Pakkala-Weckström 2014: 329; Pietikäinen & Mäntynen 2009: 94; cf. Nordman 1996: 558–559; Teixeira 2009: 175–179). In addition to these, recipes may contain photographs and a short, inviting introduction to the dish (Nordman 1994: 53–55, 1996: 558–560; Pakkala-Weckström 2011: 93, 2014: 329, 331–332; Teixeira 2009: 175–177). Optional elements also include nutritional information, suitability for special diets, price per serving, number of servings, preparation time required, level of difficulty, hyperlinks and a list of equipment needed (see e.g. Nordman 1996: 558–561; Pakkala-Weckström 2011: 93, 2014: 329–332; Teixeira 2009: 175). The three obligatory elements are always presented in the same order – title, ingredients, instructions – while the optional elements may occur in varying positions (Pakkala-Weckström 2014: 330).

All the recipes examined in this thesis follow the above structure. They all have a title that gives clues as to the kind of cake which following the recipe will produce. Photographs offer an even better image of what the result will look like, helping not only to choose the right cake for the occasion but also to decorate it in the way proposed by the author. In addition, the recipes have an introduction that may, among other things, paint a picture of the event for which the cake is thought to be particularly suited, or explain what makes it so special. Most importantly, all recipes have the two key elements: chronological instructions which tell the reader how the cake is to be prepared and at least one ingredient list which states the ingredients and the amounts needed.

However, some recipes – the ones in NT1 in particular – appear to have several lists. This is because instead of separating all ingredients from all instructions, the author has decided to present the recipe in stages: first the ingredient list for the batter, followed by the instructions needed for its preparation, then an ingredient list for the (first) filling and the relevant instructions, and so on. In contrast, the other books take a slightly different approach, placing all ingredients together, followed by (or side by side with) all instructions. Despite this dissimilarity, it can be argued that the difference is merely visual and does not affect the division of the recipes into ingredient lists and preparation instructions: all the recipes have these elements, even if they appear in differing orders in different books.

As for recipe language, the syntax of the instructions is highly conventionalized (Nordman 1994: 53; see also Nordman 1994: 63–67, 79–81, 85). While the language in the introductory section may be more colorful and descriptive, the instructions are usually plainer: sentences tend to be short and simple and contain little repetition. Verbs in these sentences are often in the imperative (in Finnish, English and many other languages), and there are few dependent clauses. (Pakkala-Weckström 2011: 93, 2014: 330–331; see also Nordman 1994: 85, 1996: 563; Teixeira 2009: 179.) However, Görlach (1992: 756) has argued that while the imperative is the most common verb form in English-language recipes, other forms occur, too, and therefore the imperative cannot be considered a universal feature of recipe English, at least not of all time periods. In addition to their form and position, the selection of verbs available – a few of them specialized terms, many part of the language for general purposes – is highly stereotyped and shows little variation (Nordman 1996: 564).

It is these verbs in the instructions that this thesis analyzes. Albeit often short main clauses, the instructive sentences are not entirely void of non-finite structures. The ingredient list, on the other hand, usually lacks verbs (apart from participial forms, e.g. *siivilöitynä* [TT1J] '[as] sifted') and is therefore not of interest to the study of infinitives. As for the introductory texts, their colorful, inviting language would certainly constitute fascinating research material for studies not focused on recipe language as a language variety. However, since these introductions differ immensely from the instructions in many aspects, not least linguistic, they fall outside the scope of this study. The material of this thesis will, then, consist solely of the instructions of the chosen cake recipes.

Ten recipes have been chosen from each book at random. The only selection criterion was that they be cake recipes, not recipes for muffins, cookies or any other form of baked goods, although it is perfectly possible – and even highly probable – that other types of baking recipes do not differ

greatly from cake recipes in linguistic aspects. That is, however, to be determined by other studies. Appendix 1 presents all chosen recipes and the sentences with NCs in them book by book.

The recipes examined in this study are of differing lengths, a property which may affect the number of NCs found in each recipe. As absolutes, then, these numbers should be approached with some reservation. They will, nevertheless, be of interest when examining the proportion of each NC type in relation to the total number. In addition, comparable frequencies will be calculated for each non-finite form. This analysis will be carried out in the next chapter.

5 Analysis

In this chapter, I will examine the NCs found in the selected recipes. As stated earlier, the analysis will cover the TUA-non-finite, the E- and the MA-infinitives and the translative of the A-infinitive. First, in 5.1, I will present a quantitative overall view of the NCs and their occurrences in the material, and in 5.2, I will compare their frequencies with the frequencies in standard Finnish (based on Ikola et al. 1989). Then, in 5.3., I will analyze the collocational and colligational relations of the NCs in the material. In 5.4, I will provide a short analysis of the verbs used in the NCs. Lastly, in 5.5, 5.6 and 5.7, the three most common NCs, namely the inessive and the instructive of the E-infinitive and the illative of the MA-infinitive, and their collocations will be examined in more detail.

5.1 The Number of Occurrences and the Percentages of the Non-Finite Forms

The material consists of forty recipes, ten from each book. Table 1 provides a listing of the number of E- and MA-infinitives, TUA-non-finites and translatives of the A-infinitive found in the recipes, divided into cases as presented in chapter 2:

Table 3. The number of occurrences and the percentages of examined non-finite forms.

	NT1	NT2	TT1	TT2	NTs	TTs	Total	% of all NCs
A-infinitive, translative	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0.9
E-infinitive, inessive	3	2	10	14	5	24	29	24.8
E-infinitive, instructive	15	10	19*	6*	25	25	50	42.7
TUA-non-finite	0	2	0	0	2	0	2	1.7
MA-infinitive, inessive	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0.9
MA-infinitive, elative	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
MA-infinitive, illative	6	3	14	2	9	16	25	21.4
MA-infinitive, adessive	3	3	0	2	6	2	8	6.8
MA-infinitive, abessive	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0.9
MA-infinitive, instructive	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	**28**	**21**	**44**	**24**	**49**	**68**	**117**	**100.1***

** Both TT1 and TT2 have one occurrence of* vuorotellen*, 'taking turns.' Although initially a non-finite verb form, it has been lexicalized into an adverb (ISK 2004: § 390) with the meaning 'alternately' and has therefore not been included in the analysis of non-finite forms performed in this thesis.*
*** Percentages do not total 100.0 due to rounding.*

As can be seen from table 1, out of the ten non-finite forms examined, two are entirely absent: the elative and the instructive of the MA-infinitive. Furthermore, there are four other marginal forms, namely the translative of the A-infinitive, the inessive and the abessive of the MA-infinitive and the TUA-non-finite, the first three presenting one occurrence each and the last one presenting two. The adessive of the MA-infinitive occurs eight times, constituting 6.8% of all NCs. Consequently, then, the chief portion, or 88.9%, of the NCs examined in this thesis consists of just three forms, namely the inessive and the instructive of the E-infinitive and the illative of the MA-infinitive.

Constituting 24.8% of all the NCs analyzed, the inessive of the E-infinitive clearly plays an important role in the material. Curiously, however, there is a clear difference in the number of occurrences between the TTs and the NTs: 10 in TT1 and 14 in TT2 compared with three in NT1 and two in NT2. This is in line with Eskola's (2004: 93, 2005: 232; see 3.2.1) findings: in her corpora of translated and non-translated narrative prose, the Finnish translated from English has over twice as many inessives as the non-translated Finnish, i.e. 1,557 compared to 762. In the recipes analyzed here, the difference in the ratio is even greater: the NTs combined have five, while the TTs have 24; in other words, the number of this non-finite form in the non-translated Finnish is only a fifth of the number in the Finnish translated from English.

With 50 occurrences and constituting 42.7% of all NCs, the instructive of the E-infinitive is by far the most common NC in the material. However, there is a great difference between the frequencies with which it occurs in the translated texts: TT1 presents just six occurrences, while TT2 has 19. The difference between the NTs is smaller: 10 in NT2 compared with 15 in NT1. What is notable with regard to the study of translation is that the contrast in the amount of this NC is not one between translated and non-translated language. Instead, it is TT1 and TT2 that have the lowest and the highest number of occurrences, respectively. Thus, when listed in the order of this number, it is the TTs that appear at the ends of the spectrum, with the NTs located in the middle: TT1 (6) < NT2 (10) < NT1 (15) < TT2 (19).

As seen earlier, the TUA-non-finite is, in addition to the inessive of the E-infinitive, one of the two NCs used to form the temporal construction. It only occurs twice in the material, both occurrences

being in the same, non-translated book, NT2. Somewhat similarly, Eskola (2004: 93, 2005: 232; see 3.2.1) found that the TUA-non-finite is more common in non-translated Finnish than in Finnish translated from English: the latter has approximately 80% of the amount in the former. However, the number of occurrences in the recipes here is clearly too small to draw such conclusions. Nevertheless, it may be worth noting that this NC is so rarely used in the material.

With respect to the MA-infinitives, the illative is an interesting case. TT1 presents 14 occurrences, while TT2, NT1 and NT2 have two, six and three, respectively. Similarly to the instructive of the E-infinitive, it is the TTs that appear the ends of the spectrum with the lowest and highest number. In other words, the differences in the frequencies of this NC do not appear to represent a difference between non-translated Finnish and Finnish translated from English. However, it could perhaps be argued that the high number of illatives of the MA-infinitive in TT1 might be an example of untypical frequencies in translations.

As to the adessive, the numbers are small, ranging from zero (TT1) to three (in NT1), with the form constituting 6.8% of all NCs. Once again, there does not seem to be any considerable disparity between non-translated Finnish and Finnish translated from English, although the NTs exhibit a higher overall number (six compared with two). However, a larger corpus could easily change this ratio in one direction or another.

The abessive is yet another rare form, with a single occurrence constituting 0.9% of all NCs. The one abessive occurs in non-translated Finnish. As with the adessive, it would be interesting to see how a larger corpus would affect the ratio of this NC: would it remain a marginal form, and could a difference be found between non-translated Finnish and Finnish translated from English? Unfortunately, the limited material of forty recipes used in this thesis provides no conclusive answers.

In reference to the total number of NCs in the books, it can be noted that three of the texts, namely the NTs and TT2, appear rather similar in this aspect: NT1 presents 28 occurrences, NT2 21 and TT2 24. In contrast, TT1 presents 44, more than twice the amount in NT2. TT1, then, contains 37.6%, or over a third, of all the NCs found in the material. However, since the number of NCs in TT2 falls between the amounts in NT1 and NT2, this is once more not a question of all translated language differing from all non-translated language; if presented in an ascending order of the number of occurrences, the texts could be listed as follows: NT2 (21) < TT2 (24) < NT1 (28) < TT1 (44).

Nonetheless, I find it note-worthy that one translated text would differ this considerably from the rest of the material.

Next, I will compare the percentages of different NCs calculated for the material of this thesis to the percentages presented in ISK (2004: § 1228) for a corpus of standard Finnish. However, in order for the percentages in each analysis to be comparable with each other, the base form of the A-infinitive (included only in ISK 2004) and the TUA-non-finite (included only in this thesis) have been excluded. Table 4 presents the comparable percentages for each infinitive calculated after the exclusion of the two forms:

Table 4. The comparable percentages of infinitives in ISK (2004: § 1228) and in the material.

	% in ISK (2004) with the base form of the A-inf. excluded	**% in this thesis with the TUA-non-finite excluded**
A-infinitive, base form	-	-
A-infinitive, translative	4.0	0.9
E-infinitive, inessive	19.3	25.2
E-infinitive, instructive	16.1	43.4
TUA-non-finite	-	-
MA-infinitive, inessive	6.7	0.9
MA-infinitive, elative	1.1	0
MA-infinitive, illative	37.4	21.8
MA-infinitive, adessive	5.8	6.9
MA-infinitive, abessive	9.4	0.9
MA-infinitive, instructive	-	0
TOTAL	**99.8***	**100.0**

** Percentages do not total 100.0 due to rounding.*

As can be seen from table 4, the general tendencies in the two sets of material are similar: the three most common infinitive forms in both studies are the inessive and the instructive of the E-infinitive

and the illative of the MA-infinitive, and the remaining forms are rarer. However, some of the percentages do exhibit differences.

Presenting the biggest discrepancy, the instructive of the E-infinitive, the most common form in the material of this thesis and only the third most common in ISK (2004: § 1228), constitutes 43.4% of recipe language infinitives compared with 16.1% of standard language infinitives. This further suggests that the form may be an important constituent of recipe Finnish. In contrast, the illative of the MA-infinitive exhibits a much higher percentage (38.4) in ISK (ibid.) than in the books examined here (21.8). According to these analyses, then, it seems that the form may occur less frequently in recipe Finnish than standard Finnish.

The second most common form in both materials, the inessive of the E-infinitive presents a smaller difference, representing 19.3% of the infinitives in ISK (ibid.) and 25.2% in this thesis, thus occurring somewhat more frequently in recipe language. The inessive and abessive of the MA-infinitive, on the other hand, occur more frequently in standard Finnish, exhibiting significant differences between the language varieties: the previous form constitutes 6.7% of infinitives in ISK (ibid.) and only 0.9% in the material analyzed here, and the latter 9.4% in standard Finnish and 0.9% in recipe language. The remaining forms, namely the translative of the A-infinitive and the elative and the adessive of the MA-infinitive, occur with similar frequencies in both materials.

Next, in 5.2., I will examine the frequencies with which the different non-finite forms occur not in relation to each other, but rather, in relation to other words.

5.2 The Frequencies of the Non-Finite Forms

In order to calculate the frequency of each infinitive in the material, I have listed the number of tokens per recipe (coded by letters A through J for each cookbook) in table 5:

Table 5. The number of tokens in each recipe of the material.

	NT1	NT2	TT1	TT2
A	232	175	83	186
B	306	249	169	183
C	285	223	144	190
D	413	237	231	121
E	140	137	245	190
F	202	86	210	152
G	175	63	167	186
H	272	147	172	198
I	186	125	151	130
J	212	83	210	234
TOTAL	**2,423**	**1,525**	**1,782**	**1,770**
Mean per recipe	242	153	178	177

Although this was not the initial objective of this listing, it is interesting to note that the recipes are of such differing lengths, ranging from 63 tokens in NT2G to 413 in NT1D. At least part of this variation seems to be because of the absence or presence of fillings and/or differences in the level of detail in the decorations. NT2G, for instance, presents a simple cake with no separately prepared fillings or decorations (other than sprinkled sugar and cinnamon), which makes the low number of tokens rather logical for that recipe. NT1D, on the other hand, has instructions for ten different elements (including a filling, two different chocolate sauces and a vanilla custard), as well as elaborate decorations. In addition, some of the variation in the number of tokens per recipe might be due to differences in how the different authors have chosen to structure their cookbooks. Many recipes in TT2, for instance, only provide instructions for the preparation of the sponge and refer to another page with its own title (and hence, in the view chosen in this thesis, to another recipe entirely) for the decoration: *KORISTELU esim. kukkasin koristellut kuppikakut, s. 169* -- (TT2F) '[for the] DECORATION [see] e.g. cupcakes decorated with flowers, p. 169'. In contrast, most recipes in NT1 provide all the instructions needed from start to finish, including those for any fillings and decorations, which, of course, adds to the length of the recipes.

Regardless of the reasons, the variation in the number of tokens shows why, instead of relying solely on a comparison of absolute numbers per recipe or book, a frequency analysis is needed. Table 6 lists frequencies for each NC per 100,000 tokens:

Table 6. The frequencies of each non-finite form per 100,000 tokens.

	NT1	NT2	TT1	TT2	NTs	TTs	NTs+TTs
A-infinitive, translative	41.3	0	0	0	25.3	0	13.3
E-infinitive, inessive	123.8	131.1	561.2	791.0	126.6	675.7	386.7
E-infinitive, instructive	619.1	655.7	1,066.2	339.0	633.2	703.8	658.8
TUA-non-finite	0	131.1	0	0	50.7	0	26.7
MA-infinitive, inessive	0	0	56.12	0	0	28.2	13.3
MA-infinitive, elative	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
MA-infinitive, illative	247.6	196.7	785.6	113.0	228.0	450.5	333.3
MA-infinitive, adessive	123.8	196.7	0	113.0	152.0	56.3	105.4
MA-infinitive, abessive	0	65.6	0	0	25.3	0	13.3
MA-infinitive, instructive	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	**1,155.6**	**1,377.0**	**2,469.1**	**1,355.9**	**1,241.1**	**1,914.1**	**1,560.0**

As noted earlier (5.1), some of the non-finite forms, namely the translative of the A-infinitive, the TUA-non-finite, and the inessive, elative, abessive and instructive of the MA-infinite are rare and do not occur frequently enough to allow for further analysis. Although slightly more common, the adessive of the MA-infinitive also has a low frequency, with little variation between books or language varieties.

The most interesting forms, then, seem to be the inessive and the instructive of the E-infinitive and the illative of the MA-infinitive (analyzed in more detail in 5.5, 5.6, and 5.7 respectively). With reference to the inessive of the E-infinitive, there is a significant difference in the frequencies in non-translated and translated language (126.6 and 675.7, respectively). This means that the form occurs over five times more often in the TTs than in the NTs. On the other hand, there is little variation between TT1 (a frequency of 561.2) and TT2 (791.0) and close to none between NT1 (123.8) and NT2

(131.1). This suggests that the higher frequency of the inessive of the E-infinitive could perhaps be a feature of translated Finnish.

As regards the instructive of the E-infinitive, there is a discrepancy in the frequencies in translated language, with the frequency in TT2 being over three times that of TT1 (1,066.2 and 339.0, respectively). In contrast, although there is some variation between the NTs, the difference in the frequencies (619.1 in NT1 and in 655.7 in NT2) is much smaller in non-translated language, with the higher frequency being 1.1 times the lower one. The similarity of the frequencies in the NTs suggests that the typical frequency of the instructive of the E-infinitive in non-translated recipe Finnish might be of similar size even if a larger corpus was used. Conversely, the variation in translated language does not allow for conclusions concerning the typical frequency of the form in this language variety. Nevertheless, the fact that the frequencies in the TTs differ not only from each other, but also from those in the NTs, suggests that translated language can, in fact, exhibit untypical frequencies.

Similarly to the instructive of the E-infinitive, the illative of the MA-infinitive also shows little variation between NT1 (a frequency of 247.6) and NT2 (196.7), and a significant discrepancy between TT1 (785.6) and TT2 (113.0). In other words, while its frequency in NT1 is only 1.3 times the one in NT2, the non-finite form is almost seven times more common in TT1 than in TT2. This, too, can be seen to support the hypothesis of untypical frequencies.

Next, I will compare the frequencies of the non-finite forms in the material of this thesis with the frequencies I have calculated for the corpus used by Ikola et al. (1989), who examined the occurrence of non-finite verbs and their frequency per 100 sentences in standard Finnish. In order to avoid discrepancies in defining what exactly constitutes a sentence (see Ikola et al. 1989: 27–28 for their definition) and to improve the comparability of the frequencies in the material of this thesis to those discovered by Ikola et al., I have calculated frequencies per 100,000 tokens for their material based on the absolute numbers presented in their book (p. vii, 313–453) (the corpus of standard Finnish used by Ikola et al. has 190,917 tokens [p. vii]). These frequencies are presented in table 7:

Table 7. The frequencies of the non-finite forms examined in Ikola et al. (1989) per 100,000 tokens.

	Number of occurrences in the corpus	Frequency per 100,000 tokens
A-infinitive, translative	104	54.5
E-infinitive, inessive	515	269.8
E-infinitive, instructive	439	229.9
TUA-non-finite	147	77.0
MA-infinitive, inessive	182	95.3
MA-infinitive, elative	33	17.3
MA-infinitive, illative	1,047	548.4
MA-infinitive, adessive	164	85.9
MA-infinitive, abessive	264	138.3

As shown by table 7, the frequencies of these non-finite forms vary considerably, the lowest number being 17.3 (per 100,000 tokens) for the elative of the MA-infinitive and the highest 548.4 for the illative of the same infinitive – in other words, the most common NC occurs 33.7 times as often as the rarest form. Next, in table 8, these frequencies calculated for Ikola et al. (1989) will be presented together with the frequencies for the material of this thesis:

Table 8. The frequencies of non-finite forms in Ikola et al. (1989) and in the material per 100,000 tokens.

	Ikola et al. (1989)	NT1	NT2	TT1	TT2	NTs	TTs	NTs+TTs
A-infinitive, translative	54.5	41.3	0	0	0	25.3	0	13.3
E-infinitive, inessive	269.8	123.8	131.1	561.2	791.0	126.6	675.7	386.7
E-infinitive, instructive	229.9	619.1	655.7	1,066.2	339.0	633.2	703.8	658.8
TUA-non-finite	77.0	0	131.1	0	0	50.7	0	26.7
MA-infinitive, inessive	95.3	0	0	56.12	0	0	28.2	13.3
MA-infinitive, elative	17.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
MA-infinitive, illative	548.4	247.6	196.7	785.6	113.0	228.0	450.5	333.3
MA-infinitive, adessive	85.9	123.8	196.7	0	113.0	152.0	56.3	105.4
MA-infinitive, abessive	138.3	0	65.6	0	0	25.3	0	13.3
MA-infinitive, instructive	N/A	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

The non-finite forms that are rare in the material of this thesis, namely the translative of the A-infinitive, the TUA-non-finite and the inessive, elative and abessive of the MA-infinitive, also have low frequencies in the standard Finnish corpus analyzed by Ikola et al. (1989). (Their analysis does not include the instructive of the MA-infinitive, which is a marginal form [see ISK 2004: § 121, § 492].) The frequencies for all these forms are somewhat higher in Ikola et al. (ibid.) than in the cookbooks examined here. It seems likely, however, that these differences are, at least in part, caused by the difference in corpus size. In material of a limited size such as that of this thesis, idiosyncrasies of individual authors and/or translators may result in significant differences in the use of different linguistic features, and even one or two occurrences may have a visible effect on frequencies. Nevertheless, it is of course also possible that some of these forms are, in fact, less frequent in recipe

Finnish than standard Finnish. It would, therefore, be interesting to examine a larger corpus of recipe Finnish to see if and to which extent these differences would disappear in a larger corpus.

In contrast with the rare forms mentioned in the last paragraph, the adessive of the MA-infinitive exhibits, with the exception of TT2, higher frequencies in the material of this thesis than in Ikola et al. (1989). It is, of course, possible that this difference, too, is at least in part caused by the difference in corpus size. However, considering that the adessive of the MA-infinitive is used to express manner or the way in which an objective can be reached (ISK 2004: § 494, § 515–520), it also seems possible that the form could, in fact, be more common in recipe language than other language varieties. After all, recipes naturally include instructions that describe the way in which to proceed in order to reach the goal of a particular dish, or in the case of the material of this thesis, cake.

With regard to the inessive of the E-infinitive, its frequency in the corpus used by Ikola et al. (1989) (which is 269.8) falls between the frequency in the non-translated language of this thesis (126.6) and that in the translated language (675.7). The form is 2.5 times more common in the TTs than in Ikola et al. (ibid.), and 2.1 times more common in Ikola et al. (ibid.) than in the NTs. This suggests that not only do translated and non-translated recipe Finnish differ from each other in this regard, but both of them also seem to differ from standard Finnish with reference to the frequency of the inessive of the E-infinitive.

As for the most common non-finite form in the analyzed recipes, the instructive of the E-infinitive, it exhibits a higher frequency in all the material analyzed in this thesis than in Ikola et al. (1989). The difference is significant: 229.9 in Ikola et al. (ibid.) compared with 633.2 in the NTs and 703.8 in the TTs. Even the lowest frequency in the material (339.0 in TT2) is almost 1.5 times the frequency in standard Finnish, and the form occurs 2.8 times as frequently in the NTs as in Ikola et al (ibid.). Consequently, it can be argued that not only is the instructive of the E-infinitive the most common non-finite form in the material, it also appears to be significantly more common in recipe than standard Finnish. It is possible that fact that the form expresses manner (ISK 2004: § 495, § 515–516) increases its use in recipes. Based on the analysis here, it could, then, be argued that a high frequency of the instructive of the E-infinitive may be a feature of recipe Finnish.

In contrast to the instructive of the E-infinite, the illative of the MA-infinitive appears to be more common in standard Finnish than recipe Finnish: only TT2 exhibits a higher frequency (785.6) of the form than the corpus used by Ikola et. al (1989) (which presents a frequency of 548.4). According to the analyses, the form is 2.4 times more common in standard Finnish than in non-translated recipe

language. This could perhaps be explained by the fact that the form can be used in manifold ways, e.g. as adjective complements (see ISK 2004: § 494), many of which may not be typical of recipes. The use of this form in recipe Finnish will be examined in more detail in 5.7.

Unfortunately, the frequencies in Eskola (2002) and Puurtinen (1995) presented in 3.2.1 and 3.2.2, respectively, are not directly comparable to the frequencies calculated here because in these analyses, some non-finite forms have been grouped together according to a traditional Finnish typology of different types of *lauseenvastike*, or 'clause equivalent.' For instance, the inessive of the E-infinitive and the TUA-non-finite have been analyzed by Eskola (ibid.) and Puurtinen (ibid.) as just one type of non-finite clause due to their use as an adverbial of time in the temporal construction (see chapter 2 and ISK 2004: § 543). In addition, some of the non-finite constructions, e.g. the referative construction that includes a participial verb form (see ISK 2004: § 538), examined by Eskola and Puurtinen have not been included here, and some of the forms examined here, e.g. the illative of the MA-infinitive, were not studied by Eskola and Puurtinen. This is why the frequencies calculated in their studies have not been compared with the frequencies calculated in this thesis.

Next, I will proceed to examine the cotext of the non-finite verbs in the material.

5.3 Collocational and Colligational Relationships

In this section, I will examine collocational and colligational relations in the recipes. First, I will analyze the frequencies of collocates per non-finite and the position of collocates in relation to the non-finite verb, i.e. whether they precede or follow it. I will, then, compare these frequencies to the results of Eskola (2004, 2005) and to some relevant translation universals. Finally, the grammatical functions of the collocates will be analyzed.

There are different ways to define what exactly constitutes a collocate, what kind of relation it should have with the main word and how far from the main word it can occur to still be considered a collocate (Jantunen 2004: 15–21). Here, I have chosen to focus my analysis on words and phrases that have a direct grammatical relation to the verb of the NC and either modify it (e.g. adverbials) or are governed by it (e.g. objects). This means that some NCs will exhibit no collocates in the analysis of this thesis, even though it is clear that these non-finites do not occur in complete isolation. Nevertheless, it is my opinion that a focus on words and phrases that have a strong relationship to the non-finite verbs will provide more fruitful results.

The categories of collocates included in the analysis performed here are the subject, object, predicative adverbial and adverbials of manner, time, place and instrument. It follows that certain words linked to the non-finite verb have been excluded from the examination. Finite verbs in the main clause, for instance, have not been included for two reasons. First, since sentences cannot be formed without a finite verb, every NC will, then, necessarily collocate with a finite verb. Second, since the study material consists of recipes, most of the main verbs will be in the imperative, and an examination into the grammatical mood of the main clause is, then, hardly of interest. However, there is a third point to be considered, namely whether certain main verbs frequently occur with non-finite verbs. It would certainly be interesting to examine whether the same finite verbs (e.g. *lisää* 'add') usually occur in connection with certain non-finites (such as *sekoittaen* 'mixing'). Unfortunately, such an examination falls outside the scope of this thesis.

Table 9 presents the frequencies and positions of the collocates in the material:

Table 9. The frequency of collocates and their position relative to the non-finite verb.

	Number of NCs	Number of collocates	Frequency of collocates per NC	Number of left-positioned collocates	Frequency of left-positioned collocates per NC	Number of right-positioned collocates	Frequency of right-positioned collocates per NC
NT1	28	35	1.250	21	0.750	14	0.500
NT2	21	28	1.333	21	1.000	7	0.333
NTs	49	63	1.286	42	0.857	21	0.429
TT1	44	38	0.864	28	0.636	10	0.227
TT2	24	30	1.250	25	1.042	5	0.208
TTs	68	68	1.000	53	0.779	15	0.221
NTs+TTs	**117**	**131**	**1.120**	**95**	**0.812**	**36**	**0.308**

An analysis of table 9 shows that in all the recipe Finnish of the material, left-positioned collocates – that is, collocates that occur left of (i.e. before) the non-finite verb – are 2.6 times as common as right-positioned collocates, their frequencies per NC being 0.812 and 0.308, respectively. Even though there is some variation in the frequencies between non-translated and translated language (0.857 for left-positioned collocates in the NTs and 0.779 in the TTs, and 0.429 for right-positioned collocates in the NTs and 0.221 in the TTs), both language varieties show a tendency to position

collocates before the non-finite verb: the ratio of left-positioned collocates to right-positioned collocates is 2.0 in the NTs and 3.5 in the TTs. This could perhaps suggest that the left-positioning of collocates is a feature of recipe Finnish, but more comparisons to other language varieties would be needed to determine whether these varieties, too, present higher frequencies of left-positioned collocates than right-positioned collocates.

Moreover, it is noteworthy that non-translated language presents higher frequencies of both left-positioned and right-positioned collocates than translated language; the difference in frequencies is particularly noticeable in right-positioned collocates. Consequently, it would be interesting to replicate this analysis in a larger corpus to determine if translated recipe Finnish does, in fact, exhibit a lower frequency of collocates per NC than non-translated recipe Finnish. If a study on a large corpus presented similar results, it could, then, perhaps be argued that those results support the hypothesis of untypical frequencies in translated language. However, considering the size of the material of this thesis, such conclusions cannot be drawn.

Additionally, it is of interest to note that, in contrast with what might be expected of translations from English – a language in which most collocates are usually positioned on the right side of the verb, even in recipes (Nordman 1994: 67) – the TTs here actually have a smaller frequency (approximately half) of right-positioned collocates than the NTs. This suggests that the position of the collocates in the source texts might not have influenced their positioning in the target texts, at least not to a significant degree. In other words, it could be argued that no support is found here for the interference hypothesis with reference to the positioning of collocates. Interestingly, this contradicts Eskola's (2004: 94, 2005: 232) findings that translations present higher percentages of right-positioned collocates out of all collocates than non-translations.

When the texts are examined individually, some differences appear. In non-translated language, the frequencies of left-positioned collocates in each cookbook are slightly closer to each other than in translated language: NT1 exhibits a frequency of 0.750 and NT2 one of 1.000 (1.3 times the frequency in NT1) while the frequency in TT1 is 0.636 and the one in TT2 is 1.042 (1.6 times the frequency in TT1). On the other hand, the right-positioned collocates in translated language present a much smaller, perhaps insignificant, difference (0.227 in TT1 against 0.208 in TT2), while the frequency in NT1 (0.500) is 1.5 times the frequency in NT2 (0.333). However, when the collocates of both positions are combined, their frequency in NT2 is only 1.1 times that in NT1 (1.250 in NT1 and 1.333 in NT2), whereas TT2 presents a frequency of 1.5 times that of TT1 (0.864 in TT1 and 1.250 in TT2). In other words, the NTs only differ slightly from each other in this regard, and the difference is

somewhat more significant between the TTs. However, as stated earlier, the material used here is too limited in size to make any claims about translation language, or even the syntax of translated recipe language, in general, but this difference between TT1 and TT2 could perhaps be considered to support the hypothesis of untypical frequencies in translations.

Next, I will examine the grammatical functions of the collocates. Table 10a presents the functions of all left-positioned collocates, and table 10b the functions of all right-positioned collocates:

Table 10a. The grammatical functions of the left-positioned collocates in the material.

	NT1	NT2	TT1	TT2	NTs	TTs	All	% of left-positioned collocates	% of all collocates
Subject	0	1	1	1	1	2	3	3.2	2.3
Object	3	4	2	3	7	5	12	12.6	9.2
Adverbial of manner	4	3	9	5	7	14	21	22.1	16.0
Adverbial of time	5	7	5	3	12	8	20	21.1	15.3
Adverbial of place	7	3	8	8	10	16	26	27.4	19.8
Adverbial of instrument	0	3	2	5	3	7	10	10.5	7.6
Predicative adverbial	2	0	1	0	2	1	3	3.2	2.3
TOTAL	**21**	**21**	**28**	**25**	**42**	**53**	**95**	**100.1***	**72.5**

Table 10b. The grammatical functions of the right-positioned collocates in the material.

	NT1	NT2	TT1	TT2	NTs	TTs	All	% of right-positioned collocates	% of all collocates
Subject**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Object	5	2	2	2	7	4	11	30.6	8.4
Adverbial of manner	1	0	1	0	1	1	2	5.6	1.5
Adverbial of time	1	2	3	0	3	3	6	16.7	4.6
Adverbial of place	4	2	2	3	6	5	11	30.6	8.4
Adverbial of instrument	2	1	0	0	3	0	3	8.3	2.3
Predicative adverbial	0	0	2	0	0	2	2	5.6	1.5
Adverbial of purpose	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	2.8	0.8
TOTAL	**14**	**7**	**10**	**5**	**21**	**15**	**36**	**100.2***	**27.5**

** Percentages do not total 100.0 due to rounding.*

*** A subject cannot occur to the right of the verb.*

As shown by table 10a, the most common type of left-positioned collocate is the adverbial of place (26 occurrences, or 27.4% of all left-positioned collocates), followed by the adverbial of manner (21; 22.1%), adverbial of time (20; 21.1%), object (12; 12.6%), and adverbial of instrument (10; 10.5%). Subjects and predicate adverbials have fewer occurrences (three or 3.2% each). There are a total of 95 left-positioned collocates, 42 of them in the NTs and 53 in the TTs.

As can be seen from table 10b, right-positioned collocates occur a total of 34 times, 19 in the NTs and 15 in the TTs. Two types of collocate present the same number of occurrences, namely the object and the adverbial of place (11 occurrences each, representing 30.6% of all right-positioned collocates each and 60.8% combined). The third most common right-positioned collocate type is the adverbial of time with 6 occurrences (16.7%). The rest of the collocate types are rare, occurring between one and three times.

It is noteworthy that the third most common collocate type in the material, the adverbial of manner representing 17.6% of all collocates, occurs almost exclusively as left-positioned (21 occurrences on the left and two on the right). In other words, 91.3% of adverbials of manner in occur before the non-finite verb. As a result, then, it can perhaps be assumed that adverbials of manner, such as *kevyesti* 'lightly' and *varovasti* 'carefully', have a strong tendency to precede the non-finite verb in recipe Finnish. Similarly, the most common type of collocate, the adverbial of place, occurs more often as left-positioned than right-positioned (26 and 11 occurrences, respectively), as does the second most common collocate type, the adverbial of time (20 left-positioned compared with six right-positioned occurrences). Other types of collocates, too, seem to have a tendency – albeit not quite as strong as adverbials of manner – to occur left of the non-finite: all collocates precede the non-finite more often they follow it.

Considering that recipe language is sometimes described as presenting few objects (see e.g. Görlach 1992: 746, 756 or Nordman 1994: 66), it is interesting that in the material of this thesis, the object is among the more common collocate types with 23 occurrences, tying for third place with the adverbial of manner. It constitutes 17.6% of all collocates, 12.6% of left-positioned collocates and 30.6% of right-positioned collocates. The numbers are similar for both language varieties, and no significant difference can be found between them with regard to the number of occurrences as the numbers only vary slightly (seven in NTs and five in TTs as left-positioned; seven in NTs and four in TTs as right-positioned). However, it is worth noting that objects form such a large part of right-positioned collocates – almost one third. Furthermore, the object is the only collocate type not showing a strong preference for left-positioning: 52.2% of objects occur on the left of the non-finite verb, and 47.8% on the right.

As noted earlier, a significant majority (72.5%) of the collocates in the cookbooks are positioned to the left of, or before, the non-finite verb. Interestingly, and in contrast with Eskola's (2004: 94, 2005: 232) findings, the percentage of left-positioned collocates is, in fact, higher in translated language (77.9% of all collocates in the TTs) than non-translated language (66.7% of all collocates in the NTs). This suggests that the source language – which positions most collocates after the verb – may not have influenced the target texts. In contrast with Eskola (ibid.), then, the analysis here finds no support for the interference hypothesis in relation to the positioning of collocates.

Next, in section 5.4., I will determine which verbs are used in the NCs of the material and in which non-finite form they occur.

5.4 The Non-Finite Verbs Used

Table 11 lists the different non-finite verbs and their occurrences in each text:

Table 11. The non-finite verbs and their occurrences in the material.

	NT1	Occ.	NT2	Occ.	TT1	Occ.	TT2	Occ.
	sekoittaen	9	*sekoittaen*	3	*jäähtymään*	12	*kokeiltaessa*	6
	aloittaen	2	*varoen*	3	*sekoittaen*	6	*painettaessa*	5
	käyttäen	2	*vispaten*	2	*nostellen*	6	*myötäillen*	2
	tarvittaessa	2	*käännellen*	1	*kokeiltaessa*	6	*vatkaten*	2
	jäähtymään	2	*painellen*	1	*vatkaten*	2	*jäähtymään*	2
	pyörittäen	1	*paistuessa*	1	*tuotaessa*	2	*sekoitellen*	1
	täyttäen	1	*tarvittaessa*	1	*vaahdottaen*	1	*mukaillen*	1
	saadaksesi	1	*pistämällä*	1	*käyttäen*	1	*jäähtyessä*	1
	valmistaessasi	1	*valelemalla*	1	*aloittaen*	1	*kohotessaan*	1
	kostuttamalla	1	*siivilöimällä*	1	*edeten*	1	*halutessasi*	1
	levittämällä	1	*tapahduttua*	1	*jättäen*	1	*sulattamalla*	1
	laittamalla	1	*jäähdyttyä*	1	*kopauttaessa*	1	*sekoittamalla*	1
	kuivumaan	1	*hyytymään*	1	*jäähtyessä*	1		
	kovettumaan	1	*tekeytymään*	1	*irtoamassa*	1		
	paistumaan	1	*valumaan*	1	*jähmettymään*	1		
	pehmenemään	1	*imeytymättä*	1	*tasaantumaan*	1		
TOTAL		**28**		**21**		**44**		**24**

Occ. = number of occurrences

As can been seen from table 11, the most common non-finite in non-translated language is *sekoittaen*, 'mixing', an instructive of the E-infinitive which occurs 12 times in the NTs and six times in the TTs, making it the most common of all non-finites with a total of 18 occurrences. With 14 occurrences in the TTs and two in the NTs, the illative of the MA-infinitive *jäähtymään* 'to cool' is the

most common non-finite in translated language and the second most common in non-translated and translated language combined. The second most common verb in the TTs (12 occurrences) and absent from the NTs (zero occurrences) is the inessive of the E-infinitive *kokeiltaessa* 'when tested.' Moreover, the non-finite *nostellen* 'lifting/folding' occurs six times in TT1 and zero times elsewhere, and *painettaessa* 'when pressed' occurs five times in TT2 and zero times elsewhere. Somewhat similarly, *vatkaten* 'whipping/beating' exhibits four occurrences in the TTs and zero in the NTs. These six most common non-finites thus occur a total of 61 times in the material, which constitutes 51.2% of all NCs. 14 of them occur in non-translated language and 47 in translated language. In other words, the most common forms (with the exception of *sekoittaen*) occur much more often in the translated material. Constituting 47.9% of all NCs, the rest of the non-finites are rare. These 46 different non-finites occur between one to three times each.

NT1, NT2 and TT1 all present 16 different non-finites each, while TT2 presents a slightly lower number, 12. Interestingly, while TT2 and the NTs have the same number of non-finite types, it is TT1 that has a much higher number of occurrences than the NTs, 44 compared with 28 in NT1 and 21 in NT2. In other words, there is more repetition in TT1 than in the other books. This does not support the hypothesis of a reduction of repetition in translations. However, it should be noted that cookbooks differ from many other genres in that every recipe is, usually, supposed to be able to be used individually, without knowledge of the other recipes. (As I have mentioned in 4.2, sometimes cookbooks may have sections devoted to general information a reader should know before trying out a recipe, and other times, recipes may refer to other recipes in the same book if part of the preparation, e.g. the decoration, has been described there. Generally, however, a reader is not expected to read through all the recipes in a linear order.) This could mean that repetitive elements are bound to exist in cookbooks, which is also the case for the most common non-finites in TT1, which occur in many different recipes but are not often repeated in a single recipe.

Only three verbs in the material occur in more forms than one: *jäähtymään*, *jäähtyessä* and *jäähdyttyä* are all forms of the verb *jäähtyä* 'to cool,' and *sekoittaen* and *sekoittamalla* both represent the verb *sekoittaa* 'to mix.' With one occurrence each, *paistumaan* and *paistuessa* are forms of the verb *paistua* 'to become baked.' The remaining 43 verbs present only one form each.

All non-finites with four or more occurrences represent either the instructive of the E-infinitive, the inessive of the E-infinitive or the illative of the MA-infinitive, which, as noted earlier (5.1), comprise 42.7, 24.8 and 21.4% of all NCs, respectively (see table 3). Next, in 5.5, 5.6 and 5.7, I will examine these three most common forms more closely.

5.5 The Instructive of the E-infinitive

With 53 occurrences and constituting 42.7% of all non-finite forms in the material, the instructive of the E-infinitive is by far the most common of all the NCs examined. A large portion of these occurrences (37, or 69.8%) is related to the mixing of ingredients, an integral part of baking, and I will examine these mixing-related non-finites next, in 5.5.1. The remaining instructives, a less homogenous group, will be analyzed in 5.5.2.

5.5.1 Instructives Discussing the Mixing of Ingredients

As stated earlier, almost 70% of instructives in the material discuss mixing. It is, therefore, important to look more closely at these NCs and their collocates. For the sake of brevity and clarity, these NCs will be here referred to as "mixing NCs."

Constituting 48.6% of mixing NCs and occurring a total of 18 times, the most common verb is *sekoittaa* 'to mix', as illustrated by example 1:

Example 1.

> [...] lisää joukkoon keltuaisvaahto kevyesti **sekoittaen**. (NT1A.)
> '[…] add in the yolk foam, **mixing** lightly.'

The form *sekoittaen* occurs nine times in NT1, three times in NT2 and six times in TT1. TT2 presents no occurrences, but the form *sekoitellen,* the frequentative of the same verb, does occur once. Since the frequentative is a structure often used to describe a repeated or continual action or event (ISK 2004: § 353), the pragmatic meanings of *sekoittaen* and *sekoitellen* can be here seen as interchangeable.

In addition to the instructives of the verb 'to mix,' the material presents other verbs referring to the mixing:

Example 2.

> Lisää joukkoon sokeri vähitellen seosta samalla **vispaten**. (NT2F.)
> 'Slowly add in the sugar, **whisking** the mixture at the same time.'

The verb in example 2 appears twice in NT2. In addition, the text has two occurrences of *vatkaten*, 'whipping,' which can be seen to refer to a similar action as *vispaten*. *vatkaten* also occurs twice in

both TT1 and TT2. In addition to these, there is one occurrence of *vaahdottaen*, 'whipping, creaming, working to a creamy mass,' in TT1. All these NCs essentially discuss whipping.

The forms mentioned previously are, nevertheless, not the only NCs describing the manner of mixing, as illustrated by example 3:

Example 3.

> Sekoita valkuaisvaahto kolmessa erässä kevyesti **nostellen** keltuaisvaahtoon. (TT1D.)
>
> 'Mix the whipped egg whites into the whipped eggs yolks in three batches, **folding [frequentative]** gently.'

Absent in the other two texts, the non-finite in example 3 appears six times in TT1 and once in NT2. Similarly to *sekoitellen*, it is the frequentative form of the verb *nostaa* 'to lift, to fold [in]' describing a repeated action. The manner of mixing is further described by the adverb *kevyesti* 'lightly, gently,' which is present in all the sentences with the form *nostellen*.

In addition to these forms, there are further two NCs in the frequentative that describe mixing: *käännellen* 'turning, folding in' and *painellen* 'pressing.' Similarly to the NCs with *sekoitellen*, the former is preceded by an adverb: *varovasti* 'carefully.' The latter, on the other hand, does not have an adverb, but a noun phrase in the adessive case describing an instrument, functioning as an adverbial of instrument: *haarukalla* 'with a fork.' A similar construction is also present in the former NC: *varovasti **nuolijalla** käännellen*, 'folding carefully **with a spatula.**'

For a more detailed analysis of all collocates, I have listed the left-and right-positioned collocates of the mixing NCs in tables 12a and 12b, respectively:

Table 12a. The left-positioned collocates of the instructives of the E-infinitive referring to the mixing of ingredients and their frequencies per NC.

	Verb	Occ.	Object	Adverbial of manner	Adverbial of time	Adverbial of instrument
NT1	*sekoittaen*	9		*kevyesti* (2), *varovasti* (2)	*koko ajan* (4), *silloin tällöin* (1)	
NT2	*sekoittaen*	3	*seosta* (2)	*huolella* (1), *voimakkaasti* (1)	*koko ajan* (1), *samalla* (1), *välillä* (1)	
NT2	*vispaten*	2	*seosta* (2)		*samalla* (2), *koko ajan* (1)	
NT2	*käännellen*	1		*varovasti* (1)		*nuolijalla* (1)
NT2	*painellen*	1				*haarukalla* (1)
NTs		**16**	**4**	**7**	**11**	**2**
Frequency			**0.250**	**0.438**	**0.688**	**0.125**
TT1	*sekoittaen*	6		*hyvin* (1), *kevyesti* (1), *nopeasti* (1)	*välillä* (1)	
TT1	*nostellen*	6		*kevyesti* (6)		
TT1	*vatkaten*	2			*välillä* (1)	
TT1	*vaahdottaen*	1			*välillä* (1)	
TT2	*sekoitellen*	1			*aina välillä* (1)	
TT2	*vatkaten*	2		*hyvin* (1)	*samalla* (1), *jokaisen jälkeen* (1)	
TTs		**18**	**0**	**10**	**6**	**0**
Frequency			**0**	**0.556**	**0.333**	**0**
TOTAL	**8 verbs**	**34**	**4**	**17**	**17**	**2**
Frequency			**0.118**	**0.500**	**0.500**	**0.059**
Frequency of left-positioned collocates			1.176			

Table 12b. The right-positioned collocates of the instructives of the E-infinitive referring to the mixing of ingredients and their frequencies per NC.

	Verb	Occurrences	Adverbial of manner	Adverbial of time
NT1	*sekoittaen*	9		*kunnes seos sakenee.* (1)
NT2	*sekoittaen*	3		*kunnes se sakenee.* (1)
NT2	*vispaten*	2		
NT2	*käännellen*	1		
NT2	*painellen*	1		
NTs		**16**	**0**	**2**
Frequency			**0**	**0.125**
TT1	*sekoittaen*	6		
TT1	*nostellen*	6		
TT1	*vatkaten*	2	*tehokkaasti* (1)	*jokaisen lisäyksen jälkeen* (1)
TT1	*vaahdottaen*	1		
TT2	*sekoitellen*	1		
TT2	*vatkaten*	2		
TTs		**18**	**1**	**1**
Frequency			**0.056**	**0.056**
TOTAL	**8 verbs**	**34**	**1**	**3**
Frequency			**0.029**	**0.088**
Frequency of right-positioned collocates			0.118	

Occ. = number of occurrences

Listed in tables 12a and 12b, the instructives of the E-infinitive referring to the mixing of ingredients present a total of 44 collocates. The frequency of collocates per NC is, then, 1.294. Forty of the collocates are left-positioned and only four are right-positioned; in other words, the great majority,

or 90.9%, of the collocates precede and only 9.1% follow the non-finite. The frequency of left-positioned collocates is 1.176, and the frequency for right-positioned collocates is 0.118. Moreover, the preference for left-positioned collocates is stronger in NTs than in the TTs: their frequency in non-translated language is 1.500 (24 left-positioned collocates for 16 NCs), or 1.7 times the frequency in translated language, which is 0.889 (16 for 18 NCs). Consequently, 92.3% of all collocates of mixing NCs in the NTs are left-positioned, while the corresponding percentage for the TTs is slightly lower, 88.9. However, while there are some differences in the frequencies of translated and non-translated language, both language varieties seem to favor left-positioned collocates for their mixing NCs.

Interestingly and in some contrast with the TTs, the only right-positioned collocates in the NTs are sentences: *kunnes seos/se sakenee* 'until the mixture/it thickens.' In other words, no objects or adverbials of place, time or manner occur after the non-finite verb in non-translated language. Were these sentence adverbials to be excluded from the analysis, the frequency of right-positioned collocates in the material would decrease further, from 0.117 to 0.059.

Furthermore, in examples 1 and 2, drawn from the NTs, the sentences end with the non-finite verb, while in example 3, drawn from TT1, the NC is followed by an adverbial of place describing the target into which the object of the imperative is to be mixed (*keltuaisvaahtoon*, 'into the foamed yolks'). Based on the analysis of the material, this is no coincidence: the mixing verb ends the sentence in all cases but one in the non-translated Finnish, while in nine occurrences out of the 15 in TT1, the verb is followed by an adverbial. In contrast with TT1, however, TT2 has only three NCs that fall into this category, two of which end the sentence while one is followed by an adverbial. Since the end or beginning of a sentence can be considered a colligate (see e.g. Jantunen 2009: 367–368), it could be concluded that mixing NCs present a strong tendency to colligate with the end of the sentence. This tendency is stronger in non-translated Finnish, which could perhaps, if true for a larger corpus, suggest a tendency for an untypical colligational relationship in translated language.

However, following the definition of collocate chosen for this thesis (see 5.3), not all the adverbials occurring after a non-finite verb necessarily qualify as collocates. This is because some of them can be interpreted as modifying the main verb instead of the non-finite, as demonstrated by example 4:

Example 4.

> Lisää kahdessa erässä sekoittaen **munavaahtoon**. (TT1H.)
> ‘Add in two batches mixing **into the whipped eggs**.’

The adverbial of place *munavaahtoon* in example 4 could be considered a modifier of the verb *lisätä* ‘to add’: *Lisää munavaahtoon* ‘Add into the whipped eggs’. In other words, it is possible for a NC to present no right-positioned collocates without occurring in sentence-ending position. However, another interpretation, where *munavaahtoon* does modify the non-finite verb (*sekoittaen munavaahtoon* ‘mixing [implied object] into the whipped eggs’), is also possible.

Interestingly, the most common collocate type in the material, the adverbial of place, which represents 28.2% of collocates for all NCs, occurs zero times with the mixing NCs. It follows that its frequency for other non-finite forms will, then, be higher than the 0.316 calculated in relation to the total number of NCs. The other collocate types with zero occurrences as modifiers or arguments of the instructive, i.e. the subject, the predicative adverbial and the adverbial of purpose, occur infrequently in the entire material and their absence here is less unexpected.

Constituting 19.8% of collocates for all non-finite forms combined, and a staggering 45.5% of the collocates of mixing NCs, the most common collocate type for mixing NCs is the adverbial of time, such as the one shown in example 5:

Example 5.

> Kaada munaseos hyvin hitaasti ja ***samalla*** vatkaten voi-sokerivaahtoon. (TT2B.)
> ’Pour the egg mixture very slowly and mixing ***at the same time*** into the creamed butter and sugar.’

The adverbial of time in example 5, *samalla,* occurs three times in the material. In addition, adverbials of time include expressions such as *koko ajan* ‘the entire time’ (six occurrences) and *(aina) välillä* ‘occasionally’ (one + four). 17 of the adverbials of time precede the non-finite, and only three follow it. They present a frequency of 0.588 per NC.

With 18 occurrences and constituting 40.9% of the collocates of the mixing NCs, adverbials of manner are the second most common collocate type, illustrated by examples 1 and 3. They occur at a frequency of 0.529 per NC. The collocate is 1.3 times more common in translated language than non-translated language (a frequency of 0.556 compared with 0.438). Similarly to adverbials of time, adverbials of manner show a strong preference for left-positioning: all but one, i.e. 94.4%, precede

the non-finite verb. Combined, the two most common collocate types, adverbials of time and manner, constitute 86.4% of all collocates and exhibit a frequency of 1.117.

To illustrate further, all the mixing NCs in NT1 are preceded by an adverb: *kevyesti* 'gently,' *varovasti* 'carefully,' *koko ajan* 'all the time' or *silloin tällöin* 'occasionally.' The first two are adverbs of manner and occur four times in NT1; the last two are adverbs of time and occur five times. They all function as adverbials. With regard to NT2, all of its mixing NCs also have one or more preceding adverbials. As stated earlier, the verbs in the frequentative, including the *käännellen* and *nostellen* in NT2, have an adverb of manner and/or a noun phrase describing an instrument. The non-frequentative forms present adverbs of time, e.g. *välillä, samalla* or *koko ajan*, and adverbs of manner, e.g. *huolella* 'with care,' *hyvin* 'well,' or *voimakkaasti* 'vigorously.' What is significant and note-worthy, then, is that none of the mixing NCs in the non-translated Finnish of the material appear without a preceding adverbial, whether of time, of manner or of instrument.

In this aspect, the Finnish translated from English is not entirely different. Similarly to the NTs, all three mixing NCs in TT2 have a preceding adverb of time or manner. The same is true for six of the nine mixing NCs in TT1. The remaining three, however, present a variety of solutions. In one, an adverb of manner and an adverb of time follow the NC: [...] *vatkaten* ***tehokkaasti jokaisen lisäyksen jälkeen*** (TT1I) 'whipping **vigorously after each addition**.' Another sentence presents an adverbial of a category different from manner and time: *Lisää* ***kahdessa erässä*** *sekoittaen munavaahtoon* (TT1H) 'Add **in two batches** mixing into the whipped eggs.' However, while this adverbial does occur before the NC, it can perhaps be seen to modify the finite verb and not the NC. As seen earlier (example 4), the same interpretation is possible with reference to the whipped eggs. As a result, then, the non-finite verb can be interpreted as having no modifiers. Similarly, the third mixing NC with no left-positioned adverbial of time or manner occurs completely devoid of adverbials: *Lisää kookosseos sekoittaen taikinaan* (TT1F) 'Add the coconut mixture into batter, mixing.' This results in a slightly redundant sentence since mixing is usually implied by the *add* so commonly used in recipes. This potential for redundancy could be why so many of the mixing NCs have one or more adverbials: it is the adverbial, specifying how, when, or with what the mixing is to be done, that makes these NCs meaningful.

Interestingly, differences can also be found between the NTs. NT1, as illustrated by example 1, does not make the object of the non-finite verb explicit in any of its nine sentences with a mixing NC: *Lisää joukkoon keltuaisvaahto kevyesti [0] sekoittaen*, 'Add in the yolk foam, mixing [0] lightly.' In contrast, four out of five sentences with *sekoittaen* or *vispaten* in NT2 present an explicit object, *seosta* 'the

mixture [partitive case],' as in example 2: *Lisää joukkoon sokeri vähitellen **seosta** samalla vispaten* 'Gradually add in the sugar, whipping **the mixture** at the same time.' The three forms in the frequentative in NT2, however, present no explicit objects:

Example 6.

> [...] ja soseuta ne haarukalla **painellen**. (NT2C.)
> '[...] and mash them up by **pressing** [them] with a fork.'

The sentence in example 6, together with the other two presenting a NC in the frequentative, can be seen to differ from the sentences with an explicit object in one key way. In the NCs presenting an explicit object, that object is distinct from the object of the finite verb [e.g. *seosta* 'the mixture' and *sokeri* 'the sugar', respectively], while the frequentative NCs in the NT2 share the object of the finite verb: *soseuta **ne** painellen [niitä]* 'mash **them** up by pressing [them]'. In contrast, the object of the instructives in TT1 (see examples 3 and 4) can perhaps be interpreted in two different ways; grammatically, it is not clear whether the mixing should be done to the batter (referred to as "the mixture" in NT2) or to the substance being added to the mixture (e.g. *keltuaisvaahto* 'whipped egg yolks'). Pragmatically, of course, this makes no difference for the baker, which could be why the object of the mixing NCs is, at times, omitted and, at times, made explicit.

Next, in 5.5.2, I will examine the instructives of E-infinite which refer to actions other than the mixing of ingredients.

5.5.2 Other Instructives

In comparison with the mixing NCs, the rest of the instructives of the E-infinitive are a less homogenous group. Only one of the verbs is connected to baking, namely *täyttää* 'to fill,' referring to the process of filling of a cake; the remaining eight are common verbs not specific to recipes, such as *käyttää* 'to use,' *aloittaa* 'to start' and *jättää* 'to leave.' Tables 13a and 13b list all instructives of the E-infinitive not related to the mixing of ingredients and their collocates:

Table 13a. The left-positioned collocates of the instructives of the E-infinitive not related to the mixing of ingredients and their frequencies per NC.

	Verb	Occurrences	Object	Adverbial of place	Predicative adverbial
NT1	*aloittaen*	2		*keskeltä* (2)	
NT1	*käyttäen*	2	*palettia* (1), *siivilää* (1)		*apuna* (2)
NT1	*pyörittäen*	1		*käden päällä* (1)	
NT1	*täyttäen*	1			
NT2	*varoen*	3			
NTs		**9**	**2**	**3**	**2**
Frequency			**0.222**	**0.333**	**0.222**
TT1	*aloittaen*	1			
TT1	*edeten*	1			
TT1	*jättäen*	1			
TT1	*käyttäen*	1			
TT2	*myötäillen*	2	*reunoja* (1), *vuoan laitoja* (1)		
TT2	*mukaillen*	1	*vuoan muotoa* (1)		
TTs		**7**	**3**	**0**	**0**
Frequency			**0.429**	**0**	**0**
TOTAL	**9 verbs**	**16**	**5**	**3**	**2**
Frequency			**0.313**	**0.188**	**0.125**
Frequency of left-positioned collocates			0.625		

Table 13b. The right-positioned collocates of the instructives of the E-infinitive not related to the mixing of ingredients and their frequencies per NC.

	Verb	Occurrences	Object	Adverbial of place	Predicative adverbial
NT1	*aloittaen*	2			
NT1	*käyttäen*	2			
NT1	*pyörittäen*	1			
NT1	*täyttäen*	1	*ne* (1)	*reunoille asti* (1)	
NT2	*varoen*	3			
NTs		**9**	**1**	**1**	**0**
Frequency			**0.111**	**0.111**	**0**
TT1	*aloittaen*	1		*ulkoreunoista* (1)	
TT1	*edeten*	1		*keskustaan päin* (1)	
TT1	*jättäen*	1	*pitkät välit* (1)		
TT1	*käyttäen*	1	*pahvisydäntä* (1)		*muottina* (1)
TT2	*myötäillen*	2			
TT2	*mukaillen*	1			
TTs		**7**	**2**	**2**	**1**
Frequency			**0.286**	**0286**	**0.143**
TOTAL	**9 verbs**	**16**	**3**	**3**	**1**
Frequency			**0.188**	**0.188**	**0.063**
Frequency of right-positioned collocates			0.438		

The 16 instructives listed in tables 13a and 13b present a total of 17 collocates, a frequency of 1.063 per NC. Compared with the overall frequency of collocates for the mixing NCs (1.294), the frequency

here is smaller, but still fairly concordant. This could suggest that perhaps this level of frequency is typical for the instructive of the E-infinitive in Finnish, regardless of the verb used. On the other hand, it is possible that a frequency of 1.0 to 1.3 collocates per instructive may not be a feature of all standard Finnish but rather a feature of recipe Finnish. As noted earlier, a larger corpus might of course present much higher or lower frequencies than the limited material examined here. Nevertheless, the frequencies in both types of instructives do not differ considerably.

However, in a comparison of non-translated and translated language, considerable differences appear. While both language varieties present similar overall frequencies of collocates per NC (1.000 for the NTs and 1.143 for the TTs), the collocates are positioned in contrasting ways: in the NTs, 77.8% of collocates occur on the left of the non-finite verb; in the TTs, the corresponding percentage is 37.5. Consequently, collocate frequencies also present differences: the frequency for left-positioned collocates is 0.778 in the NTs, and 0.426 in the TTs, and for right-positioned collocates, 0.222 in the NTs, and 0.714 TTs. Such significant differences might suggest untypical frequencies in translated language, but unfortunately, the size of the absolute numbers examined here do not allow for generalizations.

Interestingly, the instructives not related to the mixing of ingredients seem to favor different collocate types than mixing instructives. First, while adverbials of time constitute 45.5% of collocates for the mixing NCs, they do not occur at all in connection with the instructives not related to mixing. In a similar fashion, the adverbial of manner that accounted for 40.9% of collocates for the mixing NCs is completely absent here. Moreover, while mixing NCs present zero occurrences of the most common collocate type in the material, i.e. the adverbial of place, it occurs six times and with a frequency of 0.375 as a modifier of non-mixing instructives. This adds further support for the idea that “mixing NCs” could be treated as their own category of the instructive of the E-infinitive in connection with recipe Finnish.

In some contrast with the frequency of 1.063 collocates per NC in all texts combined, NT2 presents three occurrences of a non-mixing instructive with no collocates, namely *varoen* of the verb *varoa* ‘to be careful’:

Example 7.

> [...] irrota suklaakoristeet **varoen**. (NT2A.)
> '[...] remove the chocolate decorations **with care** [literally **'being careful**'].

Although technically a NC, *varoen* in example 7, with no modifiers or arguments, functions in a similar fashion to an adverb. In fact, it could perhaps be replaced with the adverb *varovasti* 'carefully' without any pragmatic alteration to the meanings of the sentences in NT2*: Irrota jäähtyneet marengit* ***varoen/varovasti*** (NT2I) '**Carefully** remove the cooled meringues.' With reference to non-finites, Eskola (2002: 149) has argued that frequent occurrences of a verb without arguments or modifiers might be indicative of lexicalization, and this could possibly apply to *varoen* as well. However, because it does not appear on the list of infinitives lexicalized into adverbs by *Iso Suomen Kielioppi* (ISK 2004: § 390), I have chosen to consider *varoen* a non-finite verb and not an adverb in the analysis of this thesis.

In contrast with NT2, the only non-mixing instructive of which was *varoen*, NT1 has a somewhat wider variety of instructives. Example 8 presents one that occurs twice:

Example 8.

> Peitä ***palettia apuna*** **käyttäen** myös kakun sivu. (NT1G.)
> '**Using *an offset spatula for*** [literally '***as'***] ***help***, also cover the side of the cake.'

käyttää apuna, exhibited in example 8, could be literally translated as 'to use [something] as help.' In this construction, the essive case of the word *apu* 'help' functions as predicative adverbial and precedes the infinitive. *palettia* 'offset spatula [partitive case],' which is the object of the NC and the instrument used for this purpose,' precedes both the predicative adverbial and the infinitive.

In contrast, example 9 is drawn from translated language:

Example 9.

> Leikkaa kakusta terävällä veitsellä ylimääräiset reunat **käyttäen *muottina pahvisydäntä***. (TT1H.)
> 'With a sharp knife, cut off the excess sides of the cake **using *a cardboard heart as a template***.'

Similarly to example 8, example 9 has the essive of a noun (*muotti* 'template') functioning as a predicative adverbial of the instructive of the E-infinitive of the verb *käyttää* 'to use.' The non-finite

verb also has an object, the ‘cardboard heart [partititive case]’ (*pahvisydäntä*). In contrast with example 8, however, here both the predicative adverbial and the object follow the infinitive, instead of preceding it. In other words, the order of the collocations seems to differ between the translated and the non-translated Finnish of the material. Since this is a singular example, however, it is not possible to determine whether this is a reoccurring dissimilarity between non-translated Finnish and Finnish translated from English.

Nevertheless, examples 10 and 11, drawn from non-translated and translated language, respectively, provide further food for thought:

Example 10.

> [...] ja pursota kakulle spiraali ***keskeltä*** **aloittaen**, [...] (NT1J.)
> ‘[...] and pipe a spiral onto the cake, **starting *from the center***, [...].’

Similarly to the object and the predicative adverbial in example 8, the adverbial of place modifying this NC in NT1 occurs left-positioned: ***keskeltä*** *aloittaen* ‘starting **from the center**.’ As shown by example 11, TT1 presents a comparable NC:

Example 11.

> Asettele vadelmat kakun pinnalle **aloittaen *ulkoreunoista*** ja **edeten *keskustaan päin***. (TT1H.)
> ‘Place the raspberries on top of the cake, **starting *at the edges*** and **moving *towards the center***.’

Differently from example 10, the adverbials of place modifying the verbs in example 11 occur right-positioned: *aloittaen* ***ulkoreunoista*** ‘starting **at the edges**’; *edeten* ***keskustaan päin*** ‘moving **towards the center**.’ In a similar fashion to the comparison of examples 8 and 9, there is, yet again, a difference in the order of the collocates in the non-translated Finnish (example 10) and the Finnish translated from English (example 11). Nevertheless, example 12 demonstrates why hasty conclusions should not be drawn:

Example 12.

Liu'uta veitsenkärkeä kakun ympäri ***reunoja*** **myötäillen**, [...]. (TT2C.)
'**Following *the edges***, slide the tip of a knife around the cake, [...].'

The infinitive in example 12, drawn from TT2, is preceded by its object *reunoja* 'the edges [partitive case].' In other words, in some of the translated Finnish of the material, the compliment of the instructive does occur before the verb, similarly to the non-translated Finnish.

Nevertheless, as seen earlier in this chapter and as further illustrated by examples 8–11, non-translated and translated language in the material show considerable differences with reference to the positioning of collocates of non-mixing NCs. When it comes to collocate types, however, the language varieties exhibit similarities: both present the same three types, namely object, adverbial of place and predicative adverbial. Admittedly, the frequencies for each type show variation, as shown by table 14:

Table 14. The number of occurrences and the frequencies of collocate types of the instructives of the E-infinitive not related to the mixing of ingredients in non-translated and translated language.

	Occurrences in NTs	Frequency in NTs	Occurrences in TTs	Frequency in TTs
Object	3	0.333	5	0.714
Adverbial of place	4	0.444	2	0.286
Predicative adverbial	2	0.222	1	0.143

As illustrated by table 14, there is variation in the frequencies of collocates; the frequency of objects, for example, is 0.333 in non-translated and 0.714 in translated language, making objects 2.1 times more common in translations than non-translations. However, with such small-scale absolute numbers, even minor changes in the recipes could result in a considerable increase or decrease in frequencies. For this reason, it is best not to place too much importance on the frequencies calculated here until more research is performed on the frequencies of collocate types in recipe Finnish.

Next, in 5.6, I will examine the second most common non-finite form in the material, namely the inessive of the E-infinitive.

5.6 The Inessive of the E-infinitive

Representing 24.8% of all NCs, the inessive of the E-infinitive occurs 29 times in the material. As seen previously (5.1; table 3), the NTs and the TTs differ considerably with reference to this form: the recipes written in Finnish only present five occurrences, while the translated recipes present 24. Moreover, the non-translated and the translated language can be seen to differ in relation to the use of the active and passive voices of this non-finite form. Table 15 presents the amounts of the active and passive forms of the inessive of the E-infinitive in the material:

Table 15. The number of occurrences of the active and passive forms of the inessive of the E-infinitive.

	NT1	NT2	NTs	TT1	TT2	TTs	NTs+TTs
E-infinitive, inessive, active	1	1	2	2	3	5	7
E-infinitive, inessive, passive	2	1	3	8	11	19	22
TOTAL	**3**	**2**	**5**	**10**	**14**	**24**	**29**

As can be seen from table 15, the passive voice occurs almost three times as often as the active voice does. However, most of the passives, 19 out of 22 or 84.6%, occur in the TTs; the NTs only present three. In fact, while there is no considerable difference between the number of passives (three) and actives (two) in non-translated language, the difference is considerable in the Finnish translated from English, which has 19 passives and five actives. However, further examination (see example 13 in 5.6.1) will show that 17 of these 19 occurrences consist of just two verbs.

Taking into consideration the differences between the use of the active and the passive voices, this subchapter is divided further: 5.6.1 will examine the passives and 5.6.2 the actives of the inessive of the E-infinitive, and 5.6.3 will discuss their collocational and colligational relationships.

5.6.1 The Passive Voice

Out of all the texts, TT2 presents the highest number of occurrences of the inessive of the E-infinitive, i.e. 14. This is largely because seven of its ten recipes examined have a sentence formulated similarly to example 13, describing how to determine whether the cake has been baked long enough:

Example 13.

> Paista uunissa 20–25 minuuttia, [...] eli kunnes kakun pinta tuntuu kimmoisalta sormella kevyesti **painettaessa** eikä kokeilutikkuun tartu keskeltä **kokeiltaessa** lainkaan taikinaa. (TT2C.)
>
> 'Bake in the oven for 20–25 minutes, [...] or until the surface of the cake feels springy **when pressing** lightly with a finger and the tester comes out clean **when testing** from the middle [of the cake].'

Out of these seven sentences in TT2 (including example 13), four present both *painettaessa* and *kokeiltaessa* and three present one or the other. Collectively, then, these seven sentences exhibit a total of 11 inessives, constituting a large portion of the 14 inessives in TT2. Similarly, TT1, which has ten inessives altogether, presents six sentences with the verb *kokeiltaessa*, here, too, appearing in instructions on how to know whether the cake is done.

All these occurrences of the inessive of the E-infinitive present a similar structure: the non-finite verb is preceded by an adverbial of instrument (e.g. *sormella* 'with a finger'), an adverbial of manner (e.g. *kevyesti* 'lightly'), an adverbial of place (e.g. *keskeltä* 'from the middle') and/or an object (e.g. *kypsyyttä* [TT1G] 'doneness [partitive case]'). In addition, they are all in the passive voice, recognizable by the -(t)TA- preceding the -SSA of the inessive: *paine**tta**essa*, *kokeil**ta**essa* (see ISK 2004: § 110). The Finnish passive refers primarily to actions taken by humans; what makes it a passive is that the actor is not expressed explicitly (ISK 2004: § 1315). In example 13, the passive forms can be interpreted as referring to the reader, i.e. the (null) subject of the imperative at the beginning of the sentence.

In contrast with the large amount in the TTs, neither of the NTs presents *kokeiltaessa* or *painettaessa*. In fact, the non-translated recipes in the material tend not to describe the process of testing the cake for doneness. Instead, they mention the temperature at which the baking is to be done and an approximate duration: *Paista 180 asteessa noin 35–45 minuuttia* (NT1B) 'Bake at 180 degrees for about 35–45 minutes.'

Perhaps, however, the sentences containing the inessive forms of 'testing' and 'pressing' can be compared with the instructions provided in a separate section of NT1, devoted to detailed explanations of how to successfully bake a cake. These instructions are shown in example 14:

Example 14.

> Kaada valmis taikina vuokaan ja paista kakkupohjaa 180-asteisessa uunissa 35–45 minuuttia eli kunnes se on kypsä. [...] Tarkista pohjan kypsyys **ohuella puutikulla**. Raaka

> taikina tarttuu tikkuun ja vaatii vielä kypsentämistä. Tai varmenna kypsyys **sormien painalluksella**. Kypsän kakun pinta on kimmoisa. (NT1: 18.)
>
> 'Pour the prepared batter into a tin and bake the cake at 180 degrees for 35–45 minutes or until it is done. [...] Check for doneness **with a thin wooden stick**. Raw batter will adhere to the stick and requires more baking. Or confirm the doneness **with the press of a finger** [literally **'fingers'**]. The surface of a done cake will spring back.'

Example 14 presents no inessive of the E-infinitive and, in fact, no NC whatsoever. Instead, the author uses noun phrases in the adessive: *ohuella puutikulla '*with a thin wooden stick'; *sormien painalluksella* 'with the press of a finger.' According to ISK (2004: § 517), adessive is the typical case used when describing an instrument. However, the MA-infinitive in that case can also be used to express manner or the way in which an objective can be reached (ibid.: § 494, § 515–520). It is, therefore, possible to add adessives of the MA-infinitive to the sentences of example 14 without altering the meaning significantly: *Varmenna kypsyys sormella* ***painamalla*** 'Confirm the doneness **by pressing** with a finger;' *Tarkista kypsyys ohuella puutikulla* ***kokeilemalla*** 'Check for doneness **by testing** with a thin wooden stick.' It is questionable, however, if this would sound fluent or natural – in these examples, the NCs could be considered somewhat redundant. This is why I find it important to note that, in contrast with the TTs, NT1 does not present any NCs here even though the content of the instructions in examples 13 and 14 is roughly the same.

(Another way to approach this difference in the instructions in the NTs and the TTs would be to view them as representing differing cultural conventions. Finnish translation students have been reported to find some instructions in English-language recipes too elaborate for the target culture, to the extent of choosing not to include them in their translations (Pakkala-Weckström 2014: 334, 337). In a similar fashion, then, the analysis of the inessive of the E-infinitive here seems to suggest that the recipes translated from English are, in fact, more detailed, in particular with reference to the instructions on whether more time in the oven is needed – which, coincidentally, is also the topic of the instructions which the students in Pakkala-Weckström's article thought differed from Finnish recipe conventions.)

Another passive occurring solely in the translated material, the NC presented in example 15 appears twice in TT1:

Example 15.

> Seulo ***tarjolle*** **tuotaessa** pinnalle tomusokeria. (TT1G.)
> ’When **serving** [literally ‘**bringing *to serve***’], dust with icing sugar.’

The construction in example 15 does not occur in any of the other texts. NT2 uses a prepositional phrase to express the same idea: *Koristele pinta* ***ennen tarjoilua*** [...] (NT2B) ‘Decorate the surface **before service**.’ Similarly to *kokeiltaessa* and *painettaessa* in example 13, the NC in example 15, too, is a passive form: *tuo**ta**essa*. Aside from these three forms, no other passive-voice inessives occur in the TTs.

The NTs, on the other hand, present one, shown in example 16:

Example 16.

> Lisää jauho-rasvaseokseen munankeltuainen ja **tarvittaessa** vesitilkka [...]. (NT2E.)
> ’Add the egg yolk and, **if needed**, a drop of water to the flour-fat mixture [...].’

The non-finite form in example 16 occurs twice in the NTs, once in NT2 and once in NT1. It is, as mentioned, in the passive voice. However, it differs from the passives in examples 13 and 15 in that the implied subject does not appear to be the reader, but rather the material which the reader is instructed to process: “If the mixture looks as if it needs it (i.e. if the mixture looks too dry), add a drop of water.” In contrast with the NTs, the verb presents no occurrences in the TTs.

Admittedly, it can be questioned whether this non-finite should be analyzed here together with the others. This is because, similarly to *vuorotellen* ‘alternating’ excluded from the analysis of this thesis (see 5.1), *tarvittaessa* could perhaps also be considered to have become lexicalized, no longer functioning in the same way other non-finites do. In fact, in the sentences in which the verb occurs in the material, it presents no arguments or modifiers, which Eskola (2002: 149) has argued might be indicative of lexicalization, and might be seen to function as an adverbial with the meaning ‘when necessary.’ However, because *tarvittaessa* is not mentioned in the listing of infinitives lexicalized into adverbs by *Iso Suomen Kielioppi* (ISK 2004: § 390), I have, here, chosen to treat it as a non-finite verb and to include it in the analysis.

Next, in 5.6.2, I will discuss active-voice occurrences of the inessive of the E-infinitive.

5.6.2 The Active Voice

In this section, inessives of the E-infinitives in the active voice will be examined. Out of the 7 active-voice NCs, three refer explicitly to the second-person singular:

Example 17.

> Luumukermaa **valmistaessa*si*** voit vaahdottaa kerman myös kuorrutusta varten. (NT1J.)
> '**When preparing + 2nd PERS. SING.** the plum cream, you can also whip the cream for the frosting.'

In example 17, drawn from NT1, the verb *valmistaa* 'to prepare' occurs in the inessive of the E-infinitive, extended with the possessive suffix *-si* referring to the second-person singular. In a corresponding construction, NT2 presents the same form of the verb *haluta* 'to want': *halutessasi* 'if you wish' [lit. 'when wanting + 2nd PERS. SING.']. Both these NCs evidently refer to the reader of the recipes.

It can be noted that in example 17, the finite verb of the sentence is not in the imperative, the most common verb form in recipes; it is in the indicative instead. The sentence in NT2 presenting the word *halutessasi*, however, presents an imperative: ***Koristele*** *pinta halutessasi kaakaojauheella* 'If you wish, **decorate** the surface with cocoa powder.' The subject of both finite verbs (as well as both non-finites) is the second-person singular.

Even though the *valmistaessasi* in example 17 and the *halutessasi* mentioned below it are the only NCs with the possessive suffix *-si* in the material, there is one more inessive of the E-infinitive that can be interpreted as referring to the reader, shown in example 18:

Example 18.

> Marengit ovat valmiita, kun [...] ne tuntuvat pohjaan **kopauttaessa** ontoilta. (TT1D.)
> 'The meringues are ready when [...] they feel hollow **when tapping** on the bottom.'

In example 18, the NC *kopauttaessa* exhibits no possessive suffix. It can, however, be deduced that the actor of the tapping is to be the reader, regardless of the fact that the finite verb of the sentence is in the indicative and its subject is the meringues: ***ne*** *tuntuvat*, '**they** feel.'

These three NCs (examples 17 and 18, and the *halutessasi* mentioned below example 17) are the only active-voice inessives of E-infinitive in the material to refer to the second-person singular.

Clearly, these numbers are small and do not allow for comprehensive answers. Nevertheless, a few differences can be detected between the non-translated Finnish and the Finnish translated from English. As stated earlier, it is the NTs that exhibit the possessive suffix *-si*, while example 18, drawn from TT1, does not. Furthermore, the finite verbs of the NTs hold the reader, the second-person singular, as their subject, whereas the finite in TT1 is in the third-person plural. In fact, it could perhaps be argued that example 18 has more in common with example 13 than example 17: with regard to grammar, the finites in both example 13 and example 18 are in the third person, and semantically, both examples are related to determining whether the baked goods require more time in the oven. Indeed, it could be argued that the replacement of the non-finite with a passive-voice form of the same verb would not alter the meaning of the sentence in example 18: *Marengit ovat valmiita, kun ne tuntuvat pohjaan **kopautettaessa** ontoilta*, where *kopautettaessa* is a passive, differs from the sentence in TT1D only in terms of grammatical person.

With respect to the inessives of the E-infinitive to refer to a subject other than the reader, only one (out of a total of four) occurs in non-translated Finnish. Three exhibit no possessive suffix, as illustrated by example 19:

Example 19.

> Huuhtele pohjan **paistuessa** kaksi sitruunaa [...]. (NT2E.)
> '**While** the cake **bakes**, rinse two lemons [...].'

Example 19 and the two other inessives of the E-infinitive with no possessive suffix refer to the cake. All three sentences have a genitive-case subject: ***pohjan** paistuessa* 'while **the sponge** [genitive] bakes,' ***kakun/sen** jäähtyessä* 'while **the cake/it** [genitive] cools.' From a pragmatic point of view, all three subjects can be considered to refer to the cake even though grammatically, one of the NCs refers to the lemon juice used to moisten the cake: *Anna kostukkeen vetäytyä kakkuun **sen jäähtyessä*** 'Let the liquid become absorbed in the cake **while it cools**'. In all three sentences, the finite verb is in the imperative and thus discusses the actions of the second-person singular.

In contrast, the last one of the active-voice inessives of the E-infinitive occurs in a sentence in which the finite is in the third person, shown in example 20:

Example 20.

[...] jotta kakku ei **kohotessaan** tartu laitoihin. (TT2C.)
'[...] so that the cake does not stick to the sides **while rising + 3rd PERS. SING**.'

The NC in example 20 has the third-person possessive suffix *-an*. According to ISK (2004: § 546), one context in which a possessive suffix can be added to an inessive of the E-infinitive is when the non-finite refers to the same subject as the finite verb of the main clause. Similarly to example 19, the NC in example 20 can, then, be seen to refer to the subject of the finite clause, the cake.

Next, in 5.6.3, I will examine the collocates of the inessives of the E-infinitive.

5.6.3 Collocational and Colligational Relationships

In this section, I will present the number of occurrences and the frequencies of the collocates of the inessives of the E-infinitive and compare them with the frequencies for the instructive of the E-infinitive. Table 16 lists all left-positioned collocates of the inessive of the E-infinitive in the material:

Table 16. The left-positioned collocates of the inessives of the E-infinitive and their frequencies per NC.

	Verb	Occ.*	Subject	Object	Adverbial of manner	Adverbial of place	Adverbial of instrument
TT1	*kokeiltaessa*	6	**	*kypsyyttä* (2)		*keskeltä* (1)	*tikulla* (1), *varvulla* (1)
TT2	*kokeiltaessa*	6	**			*keskeltä* (6)	
TT2	*painettaessa*	5	**		*kevyesti* (4)		*sormella* (5)
TT1	*tuotaessa*	2	**			*tarjolle* (2)	
TT1	*kopauttaessa*	1				*pohjaan* (1)	
TT1	*jäähtyessä*	1	*sen* (1)				
TT2	*jäähtyessä*	1	*kakun* (1)				
TT2	*kohotessaan*	1					
TT2	*halutessasi*	1					
TTs		**24**	**2**	**2**	**4**	**10**	**7**
Frequency			**0.083**	**0.083**	**0.167**	**0.417**	**0.292**
NT1	*valmistaessasi*	1		*luumu-kermaa* (1)			
NT2	*paistuessa*	1	*pohjan* (1)				
NT1	*tarvittaessa*	2	**				
NT2	*tarvittaessa*	1	**				
NTs		**5**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**
Frequency			**0.200**	**0.200**	**0**	**0**	**0**
TOTAL	**10**	**29**	**3**	**3**	**4**	**10**	**7**
Frequency			**0.103**	**0.103**	**0.138**	**0.345**	**0.241**
Frequency of left-positioned collocates			0.931				

** Occ. = number of occurrences*

*** Passive-voice, for which reason subject cannot be expressed.*

As can be seen from table 16, the 29 inessives of the E-infinitive in the material represent ten different verbs, the most common being *kokeilla* 'to try', with 12 occurrences. There are 27 left-positioned collocates, or 0.931 per NC. Interestingly, the form presents no right-positioned collocates (arguments or modifiers) in the material. (For this reason, no table has been included for right-positioned collocates of the inessive of the E-infinitive.) In other words, 100% of the form's collocates precede the non-finite verb, and the frequency of all collocates per NC is the same as the frequency of left-positioned collocates, or 0.931. This is particularly interesting considering that such a high percentage (82.8%, or 24 of 29 occurrences) of the form occurs in the TTs. Consequently, it can be argued that the right-positioning source language has not had no influence on the positioning of collocates, which contradicts Eskola's (2004: 94, 2005: 232) findings. These results from recipe Finnish would also seem to contradict the interference hypothesis, at least with reference to this linguistic feature.

In contrast with the instructive of the E-infinitive, the most common collocate type of which is the adverbial of manner, the most common type of the inessive is the adverbial of place, which occurs ten times (0.345 per inessive), seven of which are occurrences of *keskeltä* 'from/in the middle,' occurring exclusively in the TTs. Also in contrast with the instructive, where it presents a low frequency of 0.059 for mixing NCs and zero for others, the adverbial of instrument is the second most common collocate for the inessive, occurring seven times (a frequency of 0.241 per inessive); with five occurrences, the most common adverbial of instrument is *sormella*, 'with a finger.' Interestingly, the adverbial of manner, which is the most common collocate type for the instructive with a frequency of 0.529 for mixing NCs and zero for others, exhibits a low frequency of 0.138 for the inessive, the most common of these adverbials being the adverb *kevyesti* 'lightly'. The subject and the object occur three times each (0.103 per NC). In conclusion, then, the strongest colligational relation of the inessive of the E-infinitive appears to be to the adverbial of place.

As mentioned earlier, *tarvittaessa* 'if/when needed,' occurring in NT1 and NT2, presents no arguments or modifiers, similarly to *kohotessaan* 'while rising' and *halutessasi* 'if you wish' in TT2. Excluding *tarvittaessa* from the analysis, as suggested in 5.6.1, would, then, increase the frequency of collocates per NC to 1.038. Furthermore, the frequencies of the different collocates types would, of course, increase accordingly, to 0.384 for the adverbial of place, 0.269 for the adverbial of

instrument, 0.154 for the adverbial of manner and 0.115 each for the subject and the object. However, these increases in the frequencies would be minor and perhaps even insignificant.

Next, in 5.7, I will examine the illative of the MA-infinitive.

5.7 The Illative of the MA-infinitive

With 25 occurrences and constituting 21.4% of all infinitive forms in the material, the illative of the MA-infinitive is the third most common of all the NCs examined. Occurring nine times in the NTs and 16 in the TTs, the form could be interpreted as manifesting in different quantities in non-translated and translated language. However, the examination of occurrences per text shows variation between them, the two TTs in particular: TT1 presents 14 illatives of the MA-infinitive, while TT2 only presents two. As seen in table 6, the frequency of form is 785.6 in TT1 and just 113.0 in TT2, or slightly over a seventh of the frequency in TT1. The frequencies in the NTs (247.6 in NT1 and 196.7 in NT2) show a much smaller difference in between them.

As illustrated by example 21, the majority or 12 out of 14 occurrences in TT1 and two occurrences each in TT2 and NT1 represent one verb, namely *jäähtyä*, 'to cool':

Example 21.

> Nosta marengit ritilältä ja jätä **jäähtymään**. (TT1D.)
> 'Remove the meringues from the rack and leave **to cool**.'

Consequently, were these 16 occurrences of *jäähtymään* to be excluded from the analysis, the frequencies in TT1, TT2 and NT1 would be reduced to 112.2, 0, and 165.1, respectively, and as a result, the frequency in TT1 would decrease considerably, from untypically high to falling in between the frequencies in TT2 and NT1. In other words, it is possible that the untypically high frequency in TT1 is an idiosyncrasy of the author and/or translator; the "leave them to cool" in the source segment (Bell 2005: 56) could also be translated using the base form of the A-infinitive: *anna jäähtyä* 'let cool.'

The rest of the illatives of the MA-infinitive represent a variety of verbs. Tables 17a and 17b list all the illatives and their left- and right-positioned collocates, respectively:

Table 17a. The left-positioned collocates of the illatives of the MA-infinitive and their frequencies per NC.

	Verb	Occurrences	Adverbial of time	Adverbial of place	Predicative adverbial
NT1	*jäähtymään*	2			
NT1	*kovettumaan*	1		*jääkaappiin* (1)	
NT1	*kuivumaan*	1		*jälkilämpöön* (1)	
NT1	*paistumaan*	1		*pellille* (1)	
NT1	*pehmenemään*	1		*runsaaseen kylmään veteen* (1)	
NT2	*hyytymään*	1		*jääkaappiin* (1)	
NT2	*tekeytymään*	1		*kylmään* (1)	
NT2	*valumaan*	1		*siivilään* (1)	
NTs		**9**	**0**	**7**	**0**
Frequency			**0**	**0.778**	**0**
TT1	*jäähtymään*	12		*ritilälle* (1)	*peitettynä* (1)
TT1	*jähmettymään*	1	*tunniksi* (1)	*jääkaappiin* (1)	
TT1	*tasaantumaan*	1	*tunniksi* (1)	*viileään* (1)	
TT2	*jäähtymään*	2			
TTs		**16**	**2**	**3**	**1**
Frequency			**0.125**	**0.188**	**0.063**
TOTAL	**10**	**25**	**2**	**10**	**1**
Frequency			**0.080**	**0.400**	**0.040**
Frequency of left-positioned collocates			0.520		

Table 17b. The right-positioned collocates of the illatives of the MA-infinitive and their frequencies per NC.

	Verb	Occ.*	Adverbial of time	Adverbial of place	Adverbial of purpose	Predicative adverbial
NT1	*jäähtymään*	2	*muutamaksi tunniksi* (1)	*jääkaappiin* (1)		
NT1	*kovettumaan*	1				
NT1	*kuivumaan*	1			*mahdollisesti tarvittavaa rouhetta varten* (1)	
NT1	*paistumaan*	1				
NT1	*pehmenemään*	1				
NT2	*hyytymään*	1	*vähintään kolmeksi tunniksi* (1)			
NT2	*tekeytymään*	1				
NT2	*valumaan*	1				
NTs		**9**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**0**
Frequency			**0.222**	**0.111**	**0.111**	**0**
TT1	*jäähtymään*	12	*10 minuutiksi* (1), *kahdeksi tunniksi* (1)			*huoneen-lämpöiseksi* (1)
TT1	*jähmettymään*	1				
TT1	*tasaantumaan*	1				
TT2	*jäähtymään*	2				
TTs		**16**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**1**
Frequency			**0.125**	**0**	**0**	**0.063**
TOTAL	**10**	**25**	**4**	**1**	**1**	**1**
Frequency			**0.160**	**0.040**	**0.040**	**0.040**

Frequency of right-positioned collocates			0.280

** Occ. = Occurrences.*

As can be seen from tables 17a and 17b, there are a total of 20 collocates for 25 NCs, which amounts to a frequency of 0.800. With 13 occurrences and a frequency of 0.520, left-positioned collocates are almost twice as common as right-positioned collocates, which occur seven times and present a frequency of 0.280.

The frequency of collocates per NC is 1.222 in NTs and 0.563 in the TTs. In other words, collocates are 2.2 times more common in non-translated language. Consequently, then, it is not surprising that the NTs also present higher frequencies of left- and right-positioned collocates (0.778 and 0.444, respectively) than the TTs (0.375 and 0.188). However, while translated language presents an untypical frequency of collocates per NC, the ratio of left-positioned collocates to right-positioned collocates is similar in both language varieties (1.8 in non-translations and 2.0 in translations). In other words, the positioning of collocates in translated language does not seem to differ from non-translated language. Nevertheless, since the absolute numbers here are so low (only seven right-positioned collocates in total), it is best to avoid drawing any far-reaching conclusions.

What might seem interesting at first glance is the absence of objects as collocates. However, this can be explained by the fact that all of the verbs occurring in the illative of the MA-infinitive are intransitive, e.g. *jäähtyä* 'to cool [to become cool],' *kovettua* 'to become hardened,' *kuivua* 'to become dry,' *paistua* 'to become baked' and *pehmetä* 'to become soft.' The fact that no illatives of the MA-infinitive in the material are transitive suggests that in recipe language, the form may typically occur in intransitive constructions, such as the ones illustrated by examples 21 ja 22:

Example 22.

> Laita liivatteet runsaaseen kylmään veteen **pehmenemään**. [NT1A.]
> Place the gelatin in a generous amount of cold water **to soften** [**to become soft**].

In contrast with the instructive of the E-infinitive, where the non-finite shares the subject of the verb of the main clause (in the case of recipes, usually the reader, who is being instructed in the imperative), here the implied subject of the illative of the MA-infinitive is the (implied or explicit)

object of the main clause – an ingredient (e.g. *liivatteet* in example 22) or a baked good (e.g. *marengit* in example 21). This, together with the nature of the intransitive verbs used, may explain the lack of another common collocate type, namely the adverbial of instrument, which also occurs zero times in connection with the illative of the MA-infinitive. In addition to objects and adverbials of instrument, the illative of the MA-infinitive presents no adverbials of manner, the third most common collocate type for all NCs in the material.

Furthermore, it could be questioned whether the adverbials of time and place – which occur six and 11 times, respectively – in the cotext of illatives of the MA-infinitive should be considered modifiers of the non-finite verb, or, rather, modifiers of the main clause. Example 23 is drawn from non-translated language:

Example 23.

> […] nosta se jääkaappiin **hyytymään** vähintään kolmeksi tunniksi. (NT2H.)
> […] place it in the fridge **to set** for a minimum of three hours.

The removal of the non-finite verb in example 23 would result in a perfectly sensible and grammatically correct imperative sentence: *Nosta se jääkaappiin vähintään kolmeksi tunniksi*. 'Place it in the fridge for a minimum of three hours.' This suggests that the adverbial of time might be a modifier of the imperative, and not of the non-finite. This applies to 13 of the illatives, including example 22. However, the remaining 12 occurrences function in a different manner:

Example 24.

> Laita pohjaus **jäähtymään** muutamaksi tunniksi. (NT1F.)
> Put the filled cake **to cool** for a few hours.

Here, as well as in example 21, removing the non-finite verb would cause the sentence to become ungrammatical: *Laita pohjaus muutamaksi tunniksi.** 'Put the filled cake for a few hours.'* As mentioned in chapter 2, the illative of the MA-infinitive occurs in similar contexts to the contexts in which noun phrases in the same case occur (ISK 2004: § 494). This is illustrated by examples 22 and 23, where the noun phrases *runsaaseen kylmään veteen* 'into [a] generous [amount of] cold water' and *jääkaappiin* 'into the fridge' occur in the illative. The presence (or absence) of these noun phrases explains why some of the sentences continue to be grammatically correct even if the non-finite is removed: in these sentences, the transitive verb of movement remains complimented by an argument (i.e. the noun phrase) even without the infinitive. In contrast, the sentences which become

ungrammatical with the removal of the non-finite do not exhibit a noun phrase that could function as an argument of the verb of the main clause.

Pragmatically, of course, the non-finites add information to the sentences: as illatives of the MA-infinitive often do when combined with verbs of movement (ISK 2004: § 494, § 550; see chapter 2), the illatives in the material explain what the purpose of "putting" or "placing" is – to cool, to set, to soften. Most importantly, as most of recipe language does, the illatives of the MA-infinitive function as instructions: the sentence in example 23, for instance, seems to communicate that if the cake has not set in three hours, more time in the fridge is needed, and examples 21 and 24 imply that the meringues and the filled cake should have experienced a temperature drop before the reader can proceed further with the cake preparation process.

Next, in chapter 6, I will discuss the findings of this thesis in relation to translation universals and existing research. In addition, I will suggest what this analysis might reveal about the Finnish of recipes.

6 Discussion

As stated earlier, the amount of material examined in this thesis is limited due to the manual nature of the analysis, and this, of course, equally limits the possibility to draw conclusions. This applies particularly to the NCs which presented a small number of occurrences. Nevertheless, some general tendencies did appear.

It has been argued (Nordman 1994: 85; Pakkala-Weckström 2011: 93, 2014: 330) that the syntax in recipes is often simple and that most verbs in them are in the imperative. Imperatives are, of course, an important verb form in Finnish-language recipes. However, the analysis performed here suggests that it is far from the only one. Non-finite forms were shown to occur frequently in baking recipes, making them an integral part of recipe Finnish. Furthermore, they were shown to represent a number of reoccurring cases and verbs and to occur in similar collocations across the material. This may suggest that these verbs and collocations are typical of recipe language. A comparison to frequencies in standard language suggested that is possible that the frequency of some of these infinitives – the "mixing NCs" in particular – is higher in recipe language than in other genres. The general tendency of the non-finite verb forms examined in this thesis, however, was to occur at frequencies similar to those in the corpus of standard Finnish analyzed by Ikola et al. (1989). However, as for the collocational and, particularly, the colligational relations of these non-finite forms, it is much more difficult to hypothesize whether non-finite verbs in other genres present similar syntagmatic relations. Further research is needed to determine whether, for instance, the instructive of the E-infinitive is frequently modified by a preceding adverbial of time or manner in other genres, or if that is a feature of recipe Finnish.

As shown by the analysis, the frequency of non-finite constructions in the translated Finnish of the material was considerably – 1.5 times – higher than their frequency in the non-translated Finnish. This result is in line with the studies of Puurtinen (1995, 2005) that showed translated language to present higher frequencies of non-finite constructions. However, the analysis also showed that only one of the translations exhibited a significantly higher frequency than the non-translations; the frequency in the other translation was in concordance with non-translations. This could suggest that translations have a tendency to present untypical frequencies – or, with a corpus of forty recipes and just 7,500 words, that the overrepresentation of non-finite verbs in one translated text was caused by the idiosyncrasies of the author or the translator. It is, nevertheless, interesting to note that the translated language had a high level of discrepancy with regard to the frequency of non-finites, while the non-translated language appeared more homogenous.

Individual non-finite forms showed contrasting results. In line with Eskola's (2002, 2004, 2005) and Puurtinen's (1995, 2005) findings, the inessive of the E-infinitive, a component of the temporal construction and the second most common infinitive in the material, was strongly overrepresented in the translated recipes, potentially suggesting support for the translation universal hypotheses of untypical frequencies and of the overrepresentation of features typical of the source language. Similarly, the illative of the MA-infinitive, the third most common non-finite form, occurred twice as frequently in translations as in non-translations. Interestingly, however, the most common non-finite, the instructive of the E-infinitive, presented concordant frequencies in the two language varieties, of almost three times the size of the frequency in standard language. This suggests that recipe Finnish may present this form more frequently than standard language. In particular, instructives of the E-infinitive discussing the mixing of ingredients appear to be a widespread feature of both non-translated and translated recipes, and perhaps even a convention of the genre.

It should be noted, however, that the two translated texts presented discrepancies with reference to all these three forms. The illative of the MA-infinitive, for instance, occurred a staggering seven times as frequently in TT1 as in TT2. Glancing through the source text of TT1, Bell 2005, it seems that the occurrences of the illative were influenced by the source text, as Eskola (2004: 88) has suggested in reference to the non-finite constructions in her corpus. The overrepresentation of the form in TT1 could, then, be regarded as a small piece of evidence for the translation universal hypotheses of interference and of the overrepresentation of features typical of the source language. In addition, since the illatives occurring in TT1 are used in ways which are part of the normal repertoire of non-translated Finnish, it could be argued that their overrepresentation here represents Toury's (1995) positive transfer.

Similarly to the illatives of the MA-infinitive, the high frequency of inessives of the E-infinitive in translated language is, in part, due to the repetition of versions of the same sentence in several recipes, which might also be caused by source text stimuli. In agreement with Szymor's (2017) argument that untypical frequencies in translations may be caused by differences in the contents of the so-called comparable corpora, it could, then, be asked whether the high frequencies of the illatives and inessives are truly a feature of translated language, or, rather, a representation of differences between Finnish and English-language recipes. Similarly, while the fact that translated recipes showed a higher level of explicitness in some instructions could be regarded as support for the explicitation universal, the cause of this explicitness could quite possibly be source text stimuli and not the translation process itself. In fact, I find it likely that the explicitness of the TTs in this regard is a matter of cultural conventions, as suggested by Pakkala-Weckström (2014).

On the other hand, the analysis also showed that when a non-translated text did provide instructions on how to test a cake for doneness (in an instructive section separate from the recipes), it did so without resorting to any non-finite verbs. It is, then, possible that even if the conventions of Finnish recipe writing required such instructions to be made explicit in baking recipes, there might be no increase in the number of NCs in them. In this case, an overrepresentation of NCs, inessives in particular, in translated Finnish might be expected, in conformity with the findings of Eskola (2002, 2004, 2005) and Puurtinen (2005).

As seen earlier (chapter 3.2), there have been differences in the ways in which researchers have related non-finite constructions to translation universals. Eskola (2002: 81–82) has argued that since their use results in shorter sentences, non-finite constructions can be regarded as a simplification, and their higher proportion in translated language could therefore be seen to support the simplification hypothesis. In addition, she has posited that the untypical frequencies in translations influenced by source text stimuli can also be regarded as simplification of the language because they are a representation of the translators' inability to use all features and possibilities of the target language as broadly as non-translated, original language does. In contrast, Puurtinen (2005: 220) has maintained that because NCs make texts less readable, a higher frequency of NCs in translations may contradict the simplification hypothesis. In addition, she (ibid.) has argued that since NCs provide less information about the relationship between the action of the non-finite verb and that of the finite verb of the main clause, their overrepresentation can be considered to oppose the explicitation hypothesis. In the material of this thesis, however, the non-finite constructions used do not seem to overly complicate the understanding of the sentences in which they appear. In most of the occurrences, the action of the non-finite verb can be regarded as fully or partially simultaneous with the action of the finite verb. This applies to, for instance, the mixing NCs dealt with in 5.5.1: the mixing described in the NC is to happen either at the same time as or immediately after an ingredient has been added as instructed by the finite imperative. Many of the inessives, too, discuss actions happening within a short time frame after the action of the finite verb. In most NCs in the material, the subject, too, is easily deducible, potentially because of the tendency of recipe language to a high proportion of sentences in the second-person singular; in most sentences, the subject of non-finite was either the subject or the object of the finite verb, i.e. the reader or an ingredient or baked good. It might, therefore, be argued that many of the NCs in the material do not significantly affect the level of explicitness or simplicity (the latter here understood in terms of readability, not sentence length).

With regard to the differences in the collocational and colligational relationship of the NCs, in contrast with what Eskola (2004) has reported in narrative prose, the general tendency in both recipe language varieties appeared to be to position collocates ahead of the non-finite verb. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that left-positioned collocates constituted a larger percentage of all collocates in translations than non-translations (the actual frequency of left-positioned collocates per NC was ever so slightly higher in non-translated language). This contradicts Eskola's (ibid.) findings and interpretation of the untypical frequencies as influenced by source text stimuli, as well as the interference hypothesis in relation to the positioning of collocates. Perhaps, then, the higher ratio of left-positioned collocates to right-positioned collocates in translations could be interpreted as standardization or growing conventionality instead.

On the other hand, similarly to the frequency of non-finite verbs, the two translations presented a more significant amount of variation between them in the frequency of collocates than the non-translations. As argued above, this could possibly be considered to support the hypothesis of untypical frequencies in translations – not only in relation to non-translations, but also to other translations. However, it should be noted that the overall frequency of collocates and of left- and right-positioned collocates for all NCs in one of the translated texts was concordant with the frequencies in the non-translations. In other words, not all translation was shown to present untypical frequencies.

With regard to collocate types, the translated and non-translated recipes proved surprisingly similar. While there were some differences in the frequencies of collocates and collocate types, each non-finite form in translations and non-translations consistently colligated with the same grammatical functions, such as the adverbials of manner, of time and of instrument for the mixing instructives and adverbials of time and of place for the illatives of the MA-infinitive. However, some of the similarities can be explained by grammatical restrictions governing the arguments and modifiers with which different verbs and non-finite forms are able to colligate. On the other hand, similarities may also be caused by the operative function of recipes: instructions are intended to direct the reader in the process of preparing, for instance, a cake, and for that reason, collocates that add specificity to the instructions, such as adverbials of manner and time, are needed. In fact, I would argue that sometimes it is the collocates that make a non-finite meaningful; this applies particularly to the mixing NCs, where it is not the 'mixing' of the non-finite verb that adds information to the instructions, but rather, the adverbials that occur with it.

This study has shown that, in contrast with what is sometimes argued about the verbal forms in recipes, non-finites may, in fact, constitute an integral part of recipe Finnish, occurring at fairly concordant or even higher frequencies than in standard Finnish. The instructive of the E-infinitive, in particular, together with its collocate adverbials, appears to be an essential element of the Finnish of baking recipes, helping to instruct the reader on how often, with which instrument and in which manner to mix the newest ingredient in – which, in my humble amateur-baker opinion, truly is of the essence in baking.

7 Concluding Remarks

Due to the limitations in the size of the material of this present thesis, the ability to make generalizations about recipe language – let alone to argue something in relation to translation universals with confidence – is limited as well. A large electronic corpus of recipe Finnish – or more specifically, at least one corpus of translated recipes, or preferably several representing a variety of source languages, and one comparable corpus of non-translated recipes – would certainly prove useful in a quest for broader generalizations. Do translated recipes continue to exhibit untypical frequencies of some non-finite verbs when examined in larger quantities? Do translations differ more from each other in this regard than non-translations do? Do recipes truly present higher frequencies of certain NCs than standard language does? In addition, a thorough examination of source texts might prove useful to determine to which extent the overrepresentation of some non-finite verbs in the translated material was, in fact, influenced by source text stimuli, as I have suggested.

Another interesting feature brought forward by the analysis in this thesis is the explicitness of some of the instructions in the translated recipes. This raises further questions: are translated recipes generally more explicit than non-translated ones, and if so, is this due to source text stimuli and differing genre conventions, or the translation process itself? Does this also apply to recipe translations from source languages other than English? Are experienced translators – or translators with more experience in baking – less prone to reproducing explicit instructions in translations when these go against conventions of the genre in the target culture? Questions related to sociocultural conditions would naturally require other methods, such as interviews or surveys, in addition to electronic corpus studies and examinations of source texts.

From a diachronic perspective, it would also be interesting to examine whether the explicitness in English-language recipes, available in abundance over the internet to authors and readers of Finnish cookbooks, will start to have an effect on non-translated Finnish-language recipes – or whether it already has. In addition, corpora presenting recipes from different time periods could be used to help determine, for instance, when the most frequent non-finite form, namely the instructive of the E-infinitive in the mixing NCs, became an integral part of recipe Finnish. When did it first appear in written Finnish recipes, and has it always presented the same kind of collocational and colligational relationships it does now?

The existence of electronic recipe corpora would also allow for a more comprehensive examination of topics such as lexical variation or sentence length in recipes. My first impression is that some of

the translated recipes of the material seemed to present lengthy sentences – perhaps somewhat untypically of recipes, which could suggest that there might be a difference in this aspect between translated and non-translated language – but a large corpus would be needed to determine this with certainty. Similarly, I discovered a few unusual word choices in some of the translated recipes, especially for a genre often considered somewhat repetitive and unvaried, e.g. the word *varpu* 'twig' in reference to the skewer inserted into a baked cake to determine whether it has been baked enough. It would therefore be interesting to investigate whether, contrary to a frequently cited hypothesis of translation universal, there might in fact be *more* lexical variation in translated than non-translated language of recipes. To this effect, the creation of electronic corpora of recipe Finnish would most certainly prove valuable.

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Appendix 1. Sentences Presenting Examined Non-Finite Forms.

NT1 = Alenius, Timo 2008. *Mestari Aleniuksen kakkuklassikot.* ['The Cake Classics of Chef Alenius.']

NT1A: p. 40–41 Millenium-kakku, 'The Millenium Cake'

Kun vaahto tuntuu riittävän kovalta, lisää joukkoon keltuaisvaahto kevyesti **sekoittaen**.

Laita liivatteet runsaaseen kylmään veteen **pehmenemään**.

Liuota kuiviksi puristetut liivatteet kuumaan omenamehuun ja lisää se ohuena nauhana lakkakerman joukkoon koko ajan **sekoittaen**.

Leikkaa veitsellä pohjauksen sivut tasaisiksi ja tasoita paletilla.

NT1B: p. 45–47 Rommisuklaakakku, 'Chocolate Rum Cake'

Silota tryffelikreemillä kakun reuna ja nosta pohjaus **jäähtymään** jääkaappiin.

Lämmitä tryffelikreemi **tarvittaessa** sopivan notkeaksi ja päällystä sillä pohjaus, myös sivu.

Ripottele tasaisesti tummaan kaakaojauhetta kakun pinnalle siivilää apuna **käyttäen** ja nosta kakku kakkupaperin päälle tarjoiluvadille.

NT1C: p. 51–52 Mokkamarenkikakku, 'Mocha Meringue Cake'

Pursota keskeltä **aloittaen** marenkia molempien renkaiden sisään **täyttäen** ne reunoille asti.

Pursota loppu marenki pellille **paistumaan** mahdollisesti tarvittavaa rouhetta varten.

Jätä marengit jälkilämpöön **kuivumaan**.

NT1D: p. 59–65 Banaanisuklaakakku, 'Chocolate Banana Cake'

Lisää seos 1 1/2 dl:aan kiehuvaa maitoa ja keitä koko ajan **sekoittaen**. [sic] kunnes seos sakenee.

Kun kinuski on sopivan paksuista, lisää kylmä voi pieninä paloina koko ajan **sekoittaen**.

Aloita pohjaus **kostuttamalla** alin kerros sitruuna-omenamehulla.

15. Viimeistele kakun sivu kaakao- tai suklaamuruilla käden päällä **pyörittäen** tai reunapellin päällä pöydällä.

NT1E: p. 69 Valentinus-kakku, 'The Valentine Cake'

Lisää keskenään sekoitetut kuivat aineet siivilän läpi varovasti **sekoittaen**.

NT1F: p. 74 Minttupäärynäkakku, ’Pear and Mint Cake’

> Sekoita veteen sokeri, siirappi ja kaakaojauhe ja keitä miedolla lämmöllä noin 15 minuuttia silloin tällöin **sekoittaen**.
>
> Laita pohjaus **jäähtymään** muutamaksi tunniksi.

NT1G: p. 79 Sydänkakku, ’The Heart Cake’

> Peitä palettia apuna **käyttäen** myös kakun sivu.

NT1H: p. 90 Havaijikakku, ’The Hawaii Cake’

> Värjää seos kevyesti **sekoittaen** muutamalla tipalla vihreätä karamelliväriä.
>
> Kaada liemi ohuena nauhana kermavaahtoseokseen koko ajan **sekoittaen**.
>
> Pursota pienestä reiästä ensin palmujen lehdet ja sitten kierteiset rungot voipaperin päälle ja pane ne jääkaappiin **kovettumaan**.
>
> Jatka **levittämällä** passionkermahyytelö tasaisesti päälle ja asettele ananasrenkaat kakun pinnalle.

NT1I: p. 118 Tropiikkikakku, ‘A Tropical Cake’

> Koristele kakun pinta hedelmillä ja marjoilla **saadaksesi** värikkään lopputuloksen.

NT1J: p. 130 Luumukermakakku, ’Plum Cream Cake’

> Lisää joukkoon kuivat aineet vähitellen siivilän läpi varovasti **sekoittaen**.
>
> Luumukermaa **valmistaessasi** voit vaahdottaa kerman myös kuorrutusta varten ja puolittaa sen sitten sekä täytteeksi että kuorrutukseen.
>
> Aloita pohjaus **laittamalla** alimmaksi tukipahvi, joka helpottaa kakun käsittelyä.
>
> Täytä kermalla pursotinpussi, jossa on 6–8-numeron tylla ja pursota kakulle spiraali keskeltä **aloittaen**, jätä kermanauhoille noin 1 cm:n väli.

[The following passage (*Kakun valmistus*) is not part of an actual recipe and has not been included in the calculations; it was used for comparison between TTs and NT1. See example 2 in 5.2.1.]

p. 18 Kakun valmistus, ’Preparing the cake’

> Kaada valmis taikina vuokaan ja paista kakkupohjaa 180-asteisessa uunissa 35–45 minuuttia eli kunnes se on kypsä. Pienille kakkupohjille voi riittää vähän lyhyempikin aika. Tarkista pohjan kypsyys ohuella puutikulla. Raaka taikina tarttuu tikkuun ja vaatii vielä kypsentämistä. Tai varmenna kypsyys sormien painalluksella. Kypsän kakun pinta on kimmoisa.

NT2 = Talka, Sirpa 2005. *Tee hyvä kakku. Kodin kakkukoulu*. [‘Make a Good Cake – a Cake School for the Home.’]

NT2A: p. 74 Valkosuklaa-viinikakku, ’White Chocolate and Wine Cake’

> Lisää rasva-sokeriseokseen kananmunat yksi kerrallaan seosta samalla huolella **sekoittaen**.
>
> Anna suklaan jähmettyä ja irrota suklaakoristeet **varoen**.

NT2B: p. 82–85 Suklaamoussekakku, ’Chocolate Mousse Cake’

> Yhdistä keltuaiset varovasti nuolijalla **käännellen** valkuaisvaahtoon.

NT2C: p. 88–91 Puolukkainen kinuskikakku, ’Lingonberry Caramel Cake’

> Viipaloi banaanit lautaselle ja soseuta ne haarukalla **painellen.**
>
> Keitä hiljalleen noin 10 minuuttia, seosta välillä **sekoittaen**.
>
> Kinuski on valmista, kun tippa kinuskia jähmettyy kakun reunalle **imeytymättä** kakkuun.

NT2D: p. 92–95 Mansikkakakku, ’Strawberry Cake’

> 2. Kostuta kakku lusikalla **valelemalla**.
>
> Varmista kypsyys **pistämällä** kakkua puutikulla.
>
> Kuumenna seosta kohtalaisella lämmöllä koko ajan voimakkaasti **sekoittaen**, kunnes se sakenee.
>
> Viimeistele kakku juuri ennen tarjoilua **siivilöimällä** sen pinnalle tomusokeria.

NT2E: p. 108–109 Unelmien sitruunatorttu, ’A Dreamy Lemon Tart’

> Lisää jauho-rasvaseokseen munankeltuainen ja **tarvittaessa** vesitilkka ja sekoita tasaiseksi taikinaksi.
>
> Nosta leivinpaperi ja herneet **varoen** torttupohjan päältä pois ja paista pelkkää pohjaa vielä noin 10 minuuttia.
>
> Huuhtele pohjan **paistuessa** kaksi sitruunaa ja raasta niistä kuori.
>
> Tarkkaile kakkua loppuvaiheessa ja yritä ottaa se uunista välittömästi hyytymisen **tapahduttua** ja ennen kuin pintaa alkaa halkeilla.

NT2F: p. 112–113 Mandariininen marenkitorttu, ’Mandarine Orange Meringue Cake’

Pane mandariinit siivilään **valumaan**.

Lisää joukkoon sokeri vähitellen seosta samalla **vispaten**.

NT2G: p. 118–119 Luumukakku, ’Plum Cake’

-

NT2H: p. 128–129 Greippinen tuorejuustokakku, ’Grapefruit Cheesecake’

Suojaa kakku tuorekelmulla ja nosta se jääkaappiin **hyytymään** vähintään kolmeksi tunniksi.

NT2I: p. 140–141 Raikas sitruuna-marenkikakku, ’Refreshing Lemon Meringue Cake’

Lisää joukkoon sokeri vähitellen, seosta samalla koko ajan **vispaten**.

Irrota jäähtyneet marengit **varoen**.

NT2J: p. 170–171 Kuorrutettu pumpulikakku, ’Frosted Cotton Wool Cake’

Valuta seos kakun päälle ja nosta se kylmään **tekeytymään**.

Suojaa jääkaappiin nostettu kakku tuorekelmulla vasta kakun **jäähdyttyä**.

TT1 = Bell, Annie 2006. *Upeat kakut*. *Helposti herkullista.* [‘Gorgeous Cakes. Delicious easily.’]

TT1A: p. 34 tumma viktorian kakku, ’Dark Victoria Sponge’

Pyöräytä kakun reunat irti notkealla veitsellä ja jätä **jäähtymään**.

TT1B: p. 36 sitruunakakku, ’Lemon Cake’

Kaada taikina käsiteltyyn kakkuvuokaan, tasoita pinta ja paista kakkua uunin alatasossa ritilällä 45–50 minuuttia eli kunnes se varvulla **kokeiltaessa** tuntuu kypsältä.

Anna kostukkeen vetäytyä kakkuun sen **jäähtyessä**.

TT1C: p. 47 kahvinmakuinen saksanpähkinäkakku, ’Mocha Walnut Cake’

Paista kakkua uunin alatasossa ritilällä 45–50 minuuttia eli kunnes se on tikulla **kokeiltaessa** kypsä.

Irrota notkealla veitsellä reunoistaan ja kumoa ritilälle **jäähtymään**.

TT1D: p. 56 alaskan huiput, ’The Alaskan Peaks’

Levitä leivinpaperit uuniritilöille ja nostele massasta kokkareita paperille **jättäen** pitkät välit.

Marengit ovat valmiita, kun niiden pinta on rapea ja ne tuntuvat pohjaan **kopauttaessa** ontoilta.

Nosta marengit ritilältä ja jätä **jäähtymään**.

Sekoita valkuaisvaahto kolmessa erässä kevyesti **nostellen** keltuaisvaahtoon.

Lisää jauhoseos kevyesti **nostellen** munavaahtoon.

Irrota vuoan reunat ja jätä kakku **jäähtymään**.

TT1E: p. 61 punaisilla marjoilla somistettu valkosuklaakakku, ’White Chocolate Cake Decorated with Red Berries’

Sekoita jauhot vaahtoon kahdessa erässä kevyesti **nostellen**.

Paista kakut uunin alatasossa 15–20 minuuttia eli kunnes pinta on kullankeltainen ja tuntuu kiinteältä eikä tikkuun **kokeiltaessa** jää taikinaa.

Nosta kakut uunista, varmista reunat veitsellä, irrota vuoan reunat ja jätä kakut **jäähtymään**, jolloin ne laskevat hieman.

TT1F: p. 65 limetti-kookosherkku, ’Lime and Coconut Treat’

Sekoita valkuaisvaahto kahdessa erässä kevyesti **nostellen** keltuaisvaahtoon.

Lisää kookosseos **sekoittaen** taikinaan.

Paista kakkuja uunin alatasossa 25–30 minuuttia eli kunnes ne ovat kiinteitä ja reunoiltaan **irtoamassa**.

Varmista reunat veitsellä ja jätä **jäähtymään**.

Sekoita ja varmista, että kaikki liivate on liuennut, jätä **jäähtymään** huoneenlämpöiseksi.

Lisää seokseen liimamaiseksi jäähtynyt liivateliemi hyvin **sekoittaen**.

Sirota tarjolle **tuotaessa** kakun pinnalle kookoshiutaleita ja asettele ananaskirsikat kakun keskelle.

TT1G: p. 78 appelsiini-marsipaanikakku, ’Orange Meringue Cake’

Voit käyttää apuna taikinan päälle levitettyä kelmua, joka saa jäädä pinnalle suojaksi, kun panet taikinapohjan jääkaappiin tunniksi **jähmettymään**.

Lisää munat yksi kerrallaan välillä **vatkaten**, lopuksi keltuainen.

Sekoita osa jauhoista rusinoihin ja lisää ne sekä rommi nopeasti **sekoittaen** taikinaan.

Sekoita keskenään leivinjauhe ja jauhot, lisää kevyesti **sekoittaen** taikinaan.

Paista kakkua uunin alatasossa 60–70 minuuttia eli kunnes tikku kypsyyttä **kokeiltaessa** jää puhtaaksi.

Varmista notkealla veitsellä, että kakku on irti reunoistaan ja jätä **jäähtymään**.

Seulo tarjolle **tuotaessa** pinnalle tomusokeria.

TT1H: p. 89 ystävänpäivän vadelmaunelma, 'Valentine's Rasperry Dream'

Lisää valkuaisvaahto kahdessa erässä kevyesti **nostellen** keltuaisvaahtoon.

Lisää kahdessa erässä **sekoittaen** munavaahtoon.

Kaada taikina voideltuun vuokaan, tasoita pinta ja paista uunin alatasossa noin 30–40 minuuttia eli kunnes kakun pinta on kullanruskea ja kypsyyttä **kokeiltaessa** tikku jää puhtaaksi.

Varmista kakun reunojen irtoaminen notkealla veitsellä ja jätä **jäähtymään**.

Leikkaa kakusta terävällä veitsellä ylimääräiset reunat **käyttäen** muottina pahvisydäntä (ks. s. 90).

Asettele vadelmat kakun pinnalle **aloittaen** ulkoreunoista ja **edeten** keskustaan päin.

TT1I: p. 99 synttärikutsujen karkkikakku, 'The Birthday Party Candy Cake'

Lisää sokeria 2 rkl kerrallaan **vatkaten** tehokkaasti jokaisen lisäyksen jälkeen.

Sekoita vaahtoon jauhot kolmessa erässä kevyesti **nostellen**.

Varmista kakun irtoaminen vuoan reunoista veitsellä ja jätä **jäähtymään**.

TT1J: p. 107 suklaatäytekakku, 'Chocolate Cream Cake'

Sekoita hiukan jäähtyneenä smetanan tai ranskankerman joukkoon ja jätä peitettynä **jäähtymään** kahdeksi tunniksi.

Lisää munat yksitellen välillä **vaahdottaen**.

Lisää jauhoseos vaahtoon kolmessa erässä ***vuorotellen*** kermaviilin kanssa välillä **sekoittaen**.

[N.B. Although initially a non-finite verb form, *vuorotellen* has been lexicalized into an adverb (ISK 2004: § 390) and has thus not been included in the analysis of non-finite forms performed in this thesis.]

Kaada taikina kahteen vuokaan ja paista uunin alatasossa 40–50 minuuttia eli kunnes kakkujen reunat irtoavat ja kakut tuntuvat keskeltä **kokeiltaessa** kiinteiltä.

Jätä **jäähtymään** 10 minuutiksi, [...].

Jätä kakku tunniksi viileään **tasaantumaan**, niin että kuorrutus jähmettyy.

TT2 = Cairns, Fiona 2011. *Kahvipöydän kauneimmat kakut*. ['The Most Beautiful Cakes of the Dessert Table.']

TT2A: p. 14 juhlava suklaakakku, 'Festive Chocolate Cake'

> Pane uuniin ja paista 40–45 minuuttia eli kunnes pinta on kiinteä sormella **painettaessa** eikä kokeilutikkuun jää keskeltä **kokeiltaessa** taikinaa.

TT2B: p. 17 koko perheen suklaakakku, 'Family Chocolate Cake'

> Sekoittele, kunnes suklaa on sulanut ja siirrä sivuun **jäähtymään**.
>
> Kaada munaseos hyvin hitaasti ja samalla **vatkaten** voi-sokerivaahtoon.
>
> Paista uunissa 30–35 minuuttia tai kunnes pinta tuntuu kimmoisalta sormella kevyesti **painettaessa**.
>
> Aloita kuorrutteen valmistaminen **sulattamalla** suklaa ja voi kulhossa hiljalleen kiehuvan vesikattilan päällä.

TT2C: p. 24 Victorian kakku, 'Victoria Sponge'

> Jos paistat kakun yhdessä vuoassa, vuoraa reunus vielä 7 cm:n korkuisella leivinpaperipalalla, jotta kakku ei **kohotessaan** tartu laitoihin.
>
> Paista uunissa 20–25 minuuttia, jos paistat kahdessa vuoassa, tai 30–35 minuuttia, jos paistat yhdessä vuoassa, eli kunnes kakun pinta tuntuu kimmoisalta sormella kevyesti **painettaessa** eikä kokeilutikkuun tartu keskeltä **kokeiltaessa** lainkaan taikinaa.
>
> Liu'uta veitsenkärkeä kakun ympäri reunoja **myötäillen**, jotta kakku irtoaa helpommin.

TT2D: p. 31 rapea sitruunakakku, 'Crispy Lemon Cake'

> Sulata voi pienessä kattilassa ja siirrä sivuun **jäähtymään**.
>
> Kaada taikina vuokaan ja paista uunissa 30–35 minuuttia eli kunnes kokeilutikkuun ei tartu lainkaan taikinaa keskeltä **kokeiltaessa** ja pinta tuntuu kimmoisalta sormella kevyesti **painettaessa**.
>
> Valmista rapea päällys **sekoittamalla** sitruunamehu ja sokeri pienessä kulhossa.

TT2E: p. 34 kermatäytekakku, 'Cream Filled Cake'

> Paista uunissa 20–25 uunissa (sic) eli kunnes kokeilutikkuun ei tartu lainkaan taikinaa keskeltä **kokeiltaessa** ja pinta tuntuu kimmoisalta sormella kevyesti **painettaessa**.

TT2F: p. 43 porkkana-pekaanipähkinäkakku, ’Carrot and Pecan Cake’

Vatkaa auringonkukkaöljy ja sokeri sähkövatkaimella hiljaisilla kierroksilla joukkoon (noin minuutin ajan) ja lisää munat yksitellen jokaisen jälkeen hyvin **vatkaten**.

Kaada taikina vuokaan ja paista tunnin ajan tai kunnes kokeilutikkuun ei jää keskeltä **kokeiltaessa** lainkaan taikinaa.

Kakun **jäähtyessä** valmista voikreemi.

TT2G: p. 50 kirsikka-marsipaanikakku, ’Cherry Marzipan Cake’

Sirottele puolet kirsikoista tasaisesti taikinan pinnalle vuoan muotoa **mukaillen** ja melko keskelle.

Asettele marsipaanilevy vuokaan ja lisää loput kirsikat päälle, jälleen vuoan laitoja **myötäillen** mutta nyt lähemmäs reunaa.

Kakku on kypsä, kun kokeilutikkuun ei tartu lainkaan taikinaa ja pinta tuntuu kimmoisalta keskeltä **kokeiltaessa**.

TT2H: p. 55 marenkikakku eksoottisista hedelmistä, ’Meringue Cake with Exotic Fruit’

Vatkaa joukkoon ***vuorotellen*** sokeri 1 rkl kerrallaan ja etikkaseos pienissä erissä.

[N.B. Although initially a non-finite verb form, *vuorotellen* has been lexicalized into an adverb (ISK 2004: § 390) and has thus not been included in the analysis of non-finite forms performed in this thesis.]

TT2I: p. 58 suklaamoussekakku, ’Chocolate Mousse Cake’

Lisää suklaa kulhoon ja anna sulaa kokonaan aina välillä **sekoitellen**.

Koristele pinta **halutessasi** kaakaojauheella.

TT2J: p. 62 mansikka-minttujuustokakku, ’Strawberry Mint Cheesecake’

-

LYHENNELMÄ

Helsingin yliopisto

Humanistinen tiedekunta

Englannin kääntäminen

Saara Siddiqui: ”Seosta samalla koko ajan vispaten”. Infiniittiset verbinmuodot ja niiden kollokaatit suomennetuissa ja suomeksi kirjoitetuissa resepteissä

Pro gradu -tutkielma, 85 sivua, 8 liitesivua, suomenkielinen lyhennelmä 12 sivua

Marraskuu 2020

1 Johdanto

Tässä tutkielmassa tarkastellaan käännetyn suomen (*käännössuomen*) ja kääntämättömän suomen (*supisuomen*) välillä mahdollisesti ilmeneviä eroja. Tarkasteltavana kielenpiirteenä ovat infiniittiset verbinmuodot ja niiden kollokaatit. Infiniittisiltä muodoilta puuttuvat finiittiverbien tuntomerkit aikamuoto ja tapaluokka (ISK 2004: § 490); *kollokaatit* taas ovat sanoja, jotka esiintyvät toistuvasti jonkin toisen sanan yhteydessä (Jantunen 2009: 358–359).

Tutkimuksessa selvitetään, eroavatko infiniittisten muotojen esiintymisfrekvenssit aineiston käännös- ja supisuomessa toisistaan. Lisäksi selvitetään, onko käännös- ja supisuomen välillä eroja siinä, millaiset sanat ja mitkä lauseenjäsentehtävät toistuvat infiniittisten verbien yhteydessä ja mihin asemaan nämä kollokaatit sijoittuvat suhteessa infiniittiseen verbiin. Aineiston infiniittisten muotojen suhteellisia frekvenssejä myös vertaillaan supisuomalaisen yleiskielen frekvensseihin, jotka on laskettu Ikolan ym. (1989) ja ISK:n (2004: § 1228) pohjalta.

Infiniittiset muodot toimivat eri kielissä eri tavoin, mikä tekee niistä mielenkiintoisen tutkimuskohteen. Supisuomen ja käännössuomen infiniittisten muotojen eroja on tutkittu jonkin verran korpustutkimuksen keinoin. Nämä tutkimukset ovat tarkastelleet kaunokirjallisuutta (Eskola 2002, 2004, 2005), lastenkirjallisuutta (Puurtinen 1995, 2005) ja talouskieltä (Pulla 2011). Tämän tutkielman aineisto edustaa näistä eroavaa tekstilajia, leivontareseptejä, joiden infiniittisiä muotoja ei ole tutkittu. Koska reseptikieli on erikoiskieli, jossa esiintyy vain vähän sivulauseita tai muuten monimutkaisia lauserakenteita (Pakkala-Weckström 2011: 99, 2014: 337), sen infiniittiset muodot ovat erityisen kiinnostava tutkimuskohde.

Aineistosta löydettyjä supi- ja käännössuomen välisiä eroja ja yhtäläisyyksiä tarkastellaan käännösuniversaaliteorian valossa. Teoria perustuu ajatukseen siitä, että käännetty kieli eroaa

kääntämättömästä kielestä, ja *käännösuniversaalilla* viitataan kaikelle käännöskielelle tyypilliseen kielelliseen piirteeseen (Baker 1993: 243–246; Chesterman 2004b: 3).

2 Suomen kielen infinitiivit

Verbien infiniittisillä eli nominaalimuodoilla on sekä verbien että nominien piirteitä. Kuten muutkin verbinmuodot, ne voivat saada laajennuksia, mutta toisaalta niitä voidaan taivuttaa sijamuodoissa kuten substantiiveja. (ISK 2004: § 490.) Infiniittisillä lausekkeilla ei tyypillisesti ole subjektia, mutta jotkin muodot voivat saada subjektikseen tavallisemmin nomineihin liitettävän possessiivisuffiksin tai genetiivimuotoisen nominin (mt. § 490, 492).

Suomen kielen verbien nominaalimuodot voidaan jakaa A-, E- ja MA-infinitiiveihin ja partisiippeihin (ISK 2004: § 490). Infinitiivit on esitelty seuraavassa:

”A-INFINIITIVI	perusmuoto	sano***a***
	translatiivi	sano***a****kseen*
E-INFINITIIVI	inessiivi	sano***e****ssa*; PASSIIVI: sano*tta****e****ssa*
	instruktiivi	sano***e****n*
MA-INFINITIIVI	inessiivi	sano***ma****ssa*
	elatiivi	sano***ma****sta*
	illatiivi	sano***ma****an*
	adessiivi	sano***ma****lla*
	abessiivi	sano***ma****tta*
	instruktiivi	sano***ma****n*; PASSIIVI: sano*tta****ma****n*”
		(ISK 2004: § 492; alkuperäinen korostus).

Tässä tutkielmassa tarkastellaan MA- ja E-infinitiivejä sekä A-infinitiivin translatiivia. Lisäksi tarkastellaan partisiippipohjaista TUA-nippuinfinitiiviä (*sanottuaan*), sillä sitä käytetään samoin kuin E-infinitiivin inessiiviä: ajan adverbiaalina temporaalirakenteessa (ISK 2004: § 543, § 876).

Muilla infinitiiveillä on moninaisia tehtäviä. MA-infinitiivin inessiivi, elatiivi ja illatiivi voivat toimia verbin täydennyksinä tai adjektiivin määritteinä, kun taas E-infinitiivi ja MA-infinitiivin adessiivi ovat yleensä adverbiaalimääritteitä (ISK 2004: § 492). E-infinitiivin instruktiivilla ja MA-infinitiivin adessiivilla ja abessiivilla ilmaistaan usein tapaa tai keinoa (mt. § 494, § 515), ja A-infinitiivin translatiivi kuvaa usein tarkoitusta (mt. § 1259).

Kuten muillakin sanoilla, nominaalimuotoisilla verbeillä on syntagmaattisia suhteita: sanat muodostavat liitoksia toisiin sanoihin ja esiintyvät tyypillisesti tiettyjen toisten sanojen tai kieliopillisten kategorioiden yhteydessä (Jantunen 2009: 356–359). Leksikaalista myötäesiintymää,

jossa kaksi sanaa esiintyy toistuvasti yhdessä, kutsutaan *kollokaatioksi* (mts. 358), ja leksikaalis-kieliopillista myötäesiintymää, jossa sanan yhteydessä esiintyy toistuvasti tietty kieliopillinen kategoria tai lauseenjäsenasema, kutsutaan *kolligaatioksi* (mts. 359).

3 Käännetyn ja kääntämättömän kielen vertailu

Muun muassa Baker (1993: 233–250) ja Toury (1995: 259–279) ovat esittäneet, että käännetty kieli eroaa kääntämättömästä kielestä: käännöskielellä on heidän mukaansa omia tyypillisiä kielellisiä piirteitä. Näitä piirteitä kutsutaan *käännösuniversaaleiksi*. Käännösuniversaaleiksi on esitetty muun muassa eksplisiittistymistä, yksinkertaistumista, standardisoitumista, interferenssiä eli lähdekielen ja -tekstin vaikutusta, kieliopillisen konventionaalisuuden lisääntymistä ja lähde- tai kohdekielelle tyypillisten piirteiden ali- tai yliedustumista. (Chesterman 2014: 86; House 2008: 10; Laviosa 2008: 123; Mauranen & Kujamäki 2004: 1–2.)

Jotkin käännösuniversaalit ovat osittain päällekkäisiä ja voivat olla jopa ristiriidassa keskenään (Chesterman 2004b: 10; Eskola 2002: 51, 61–62; Puurtinen 2005: 219; Pym 2008: 311–328). Lisäksi yksittäisen kielellisen piirteen voi tulkita tukevan useaa käännösuniversaalihypoteesia, ja toisaalta yksi käännösuniversaali voi näkyä kielessä monin eri tavoin (Eskola 2002: 51). Jotkin tutkijat, esimerkiksi House (2008: 11–12) ja Paloposki (2002: 155), ovat kyseenalaistaneet ajatuksen siitä, että käännetyllä kielellä olisi universaaleja, kaikessa käännöskielessä ilmeneviä piirteitä. Toiset, kuten Chesterman (2004b: 11, 2010: 44–47) ja Toury (2004: 22, 25, 28–30), ovatkin esittäneet, että yleisten kaikkea käännöskieltä koskevien piirteiden sijaan olisi mielekkäämpää tutkia ehdollisia yleistyksiä ja niiden toteutumiseen vaikuttavia tekijöitä.

Käännösuniversaalihypoteeseja on testattu esimerkiksi vertailemalla käännöksiä sähköisen korpusanalyysin keinoin *rinnakkaisteksteihin* eli samaa aihepiiriä käsitteleviin, samaa tekstilajia edustaviin kääntämättömiin teksteihin. Näin on saatu tietoa käännöskielen piirteistä. Yhtäkään hypoteesia ei kuitenkaan ole voitu todistaa oikeaksi. (Mauranen & Jantunen 2005: 7–8; Mauranen & Kujamäki 2004: 1–3.)

Infiniittisten muotojen esiintymistä käännös- ja supisuomessa ovat sähköisten korpusten avulla tutkineet Eskola (2002, 2004, 2005), Pulla (2011) ja Puurtinen (2005), jotka ovat analysoineet tuloksiaan eräiden käännösuniversaalihypoteesien valossa. Lastenkirjallisuutta tutkineen Puurtisen analyysin (esim. 2005: 213) mukaan joidenkin infiniittisten lauseketyyppien frekvenssit käännössuomessa eroavat supisuomesta. Myös talouskieltä tarkastellut Pulla (esim. 2011: 31–32) on

todennut käännössuomessa esiintyvän epätyypillisiä määriä infiniittisiä muotoja. Kaunokirjallista proosaa tutkineen Eskolan (esim. 2002: 138–139) mukaan joidenkin infiniittisten muotojen frekvensseissä on eroa käännös- ja supisuomen välillä, kun taas toisten kohdalla suurin ero ilmenee eri lähtökielistä käännettyjen suomen varianttien välillä.

Eskolan tutkimusten mukaan käännössuomelle on supisuomea tyypillisempää sijoittaa infiniittisten muotojen määritteet ja täydennykset jälkiasemaan. Hän toteaakin, että nämä epätyypilliset frekvenssit saattavat johtua interferenssistä. (Eskola 2002: 151, 154–155; 2004: 94.) Hänen tutkimustensa voidaan siis katsoa tukevan oletusta siitä, että käännöskielessä ilmenisi epätyypillisiä frekvenssejä ja erityisesti kohdekielen piirteiden aliedustumista ja lähdekielen piirteiden yliedustumista (Eskola 2002: 256–267; 2005: 239–240). Tämän Eskola (2004: 96) näkee esimerkkinä käännöskielen yksinkertaistumisesta, koska käännöksissä käytetään tällöin lähdekielen rakenteita kohdekielen monimuotoisuuden sijaan.

Myös infiniittisten muotojen käytön Eskola (2002: 81–82) on tulkinnut yksinkertaistumiseksi, koska ne tiivistävät lauseita kompaktimpaan muotoon. Hänen mukaansa myös niiden sisältämä implisiittisyys voidaan tulkita yksinkertaistumiseksi. Hän kuitenkin toteaa, että koska infiniittiset rakenteet saattavat vaatia lukijalta enemmän tulkintaa kuin finiittiset lauseet, yksinkertaistuminen ei ole ilmiönä yksiselitteinen. (Mp.) Puurtinen (2005: 220) onkin tulkinnut infiniittisten muotojen suuren määrän päinvastoin kuin Eskola: hänen mukaansa se ei tue yksinkertaistumishypoteesia, koska infiniittiset rakenteet vaikeuttavat lukemista. Infiniittisten rakenteiden ja eksplisiittistymisen suhteesta Eskola ja Puurtinen sen sijaan ovat yhtä mieltä: niiden yliedustuminen ei tue eksplisiittistymishypoteesia (Eskola 2002: 82; Puurtinen 2004: 168).

4 Aineisto

Reseptit ovat oma tekstilajinsa, jolla on hyvinkin vakiintunut muoto ja jonka kielessä on melko vähän variaatiota (Nordman 1994: 53, 1996: 557–560; Taavitsainen 2006: 272). Lisäksi reseptikielessä, tarkemmin ottaen reseptien ohjeiden kielessä, on tyypillisesti vain vähän sivulauseita tai muita monimutkaisia lauserakenteita, ja tyypillinen virke sisältää imperatiivimuotoisen verbin (Pakkala-Weckström 2011: 93, 2014: 330–331). Käytetyissä verbeissä ja niiden muodossa ja sijainnissa on vain vähän vaihtelua (Nordman 1996: 564).

Reseptikielessä esiintyy runsaasti juuri sille ominaista sanastoa ja ilmauksia. Sitä voidaankin pitää *erikoiskielenä* (LSP, *language for specific purposes*) (Nordman 1994: 53; Pakkala-Weckström 2011: 99,

2014: 337). Sen piirteet ja konventiot kuitenkin vaihtelevat kielittäin ja kulttuureittain (Paradowski 2010, Teixeira 2009). Tämän vuoksi on mielenkiintoista tutkia, eroaako supisuomalainen reseptikieli käännetystä. Lisäksi resepteillä on operatiivinen funktio (Pakkala-Weckström 2014: 329), jonka vaikutusta infiniittisiin muotoihin ja niiden kollokaatteihin tässä tutkielmassa pohditaan.

Tutkielman aineistolähteinä on käytetty neljää 2000-luvulla julkaistua reseptikirjaa, jotka sisältävät ainoastaan leivontareseptejä. Kirjoista kaksi on alun perin suomeksi kirjoitettuja (*supisuomi*) ja kaksi englannista suomeen käännettyjä (*käännössuomi*). Kustakin kirjasta tarkastellaan kymmentä kakkureseptiä, jotka on valittu satunnaisesti.

Peruselementeiltään aineiston reseptit ovat keskenään hyvin samanlaisia. Ne noudattavat reseptien perusrakennetta: niissä on otsikko, ainesosalista määrineen ja kronologiset ohjeet (ks. esim. Nordman 1996: 558–559; Pakkala-Weckström 2014: 329). Lisäksi reseptien yhteydessä on valokuvia ja lyhyet, kutsuvat esittelytekstit, kuten resepteissä usein, muttei välttämättä, on (ks. Nordman 1996: 558–560; Pakkala-Weckström 2011: 93, 2014: 329; Teixeira 2009: 175–177).

5 Analyysi

Tässä luvussa tarkastellaan ensin aineiston infiniittisten muotojen frekvenssejä ja verrataan niitä yleiskielen frekvensseihin. Sen jälkeen analysoidaan tarkemmin kolmen yleisimmän infiniittisen muodon esiintymiä sekä supi- ja käännössuomen välisiä eroja ja yhtäläisyyksiä.

5.1 Infiniittisten muotojen frekvenssit

Taulukkoon 1 on koottu E- ja MA-infinitiivien, A-infinitiivin translatiivin ja TUA-infiniittien suhteelliset frekvenssit ja prosenttiosuudet aineiston kaikista infiniittisistä verbeistä:

Taulukko 1. Kunkin infiniittisen muodon frekvenssit aineistossa 100 000:ta sanetta kohden sekä osuus aineiston kaikista infiniittisistä verbeistä.

	NT1[1]	NT2	TT1[2]	TT2	NT:t	TT:t	Yht.	%
A-infinitiivin translatiivi	41,3	0	0	0	25,3	0	13,3	0,9
E- infinitiivin inessiivi	123,8	131,1	561,2	791,0	126,6	675,7	386,7	24,8
E- infinitiivin instruktiivi	619,1	655,7	1 066,2	339,0	633,2	703,8	658,8	42,7

TUA-infiniitti	0	131,1	0	0	50,7	0	26,7	1,7
MA- infinitiivin inessiivi	0	0	56,1	0	0	28,2	13,3	0,9
MA- infinitiivin elatiivi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
MA- infinitiivin illatiivi	247,6	196,7	785,6	113,0	228,0	450,5	333,3	21,4
MA- infinitiivin adessiivi	123,8	196,7	0	113,0	152,0	56,3	105,4	6,8
MA- infinitiivin abessiivi	0	65,6	0	0	25,3	0	13,3	0,9
MA- infinitiivin instruktiivi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
YHTEENSÄ	**1 155,6**	**1 377,0**	**2 469,1**	**1 355,9**	**1 241,1**	**1 914,1**	**1 560,0**	**100,1***

[1] non-translated text 1 = kääntämätön teksti 1

[2] translated text 1 = käännetty teksti 1

* Pyöristyksistä johtuu, että yhteisprosenttimäärä on yli sata.

Aineistossa ei esiinny lainkaan MA-infinitiivin elatiivia tai instruktiivia. TUA-infiniittiä, A-infinitiivin translatiivia ja MA-infinitiivin inessiiviä ja abessiivia on hyvin marginaaliset määrät. MA-infinitiivin adessiivilla on muutama esiintymä. Valtaosa, 88,9 % tutkituista infiniittisistä muodoista, koostuu vain kolmesta muodosta: E-infinitiivin inessiivistä, E-infinitiivin instruktiivista ja MA-infinitiivin illatiivista.

E-infinitiivin inessiivillä on tutkituista muodoista toiseksi eniten esiintymiä. Luvuista ilmenee selkeä ero supisuomen ja käännössuomen välillä: frekvenssi 100 000:ta sanetta kohden on edellisessä 126,6 ja jälkimmäisessä 675,7. Inessiivin esiintymisessä on siis samansuuntaisuutta Eskolan (2004: 93, 2005: 232) tulosten kanssa; hänen aineistossaan englannista käännetyssä suomessa oli yli kaksi kertaa niin paljon E-infinitiivin inessiivejä kuin supisuomessa. Tämän tutkielman aineiston absoluuttiset luvut ovat toki hyvin pienet, erityisesti verrattuna korpustutkimuksiin, mutta jonkinlainen suuntaus on kuitenkin nähtävissä.

E-infinitiivin instruktiivi on aineistossa eniten esiintyvä muoto. Supisuomalaisten tekstien välinen ero on pieni (frekvenssi NT1:ssä 619,1 ja NT2:ssa 655,7), kun taas käännössuomalaisten tekstien välillä on merkittävä ero (frekvenssi TT1:ssä 1 066,2 ja TT2:ssa 339,0). Instruktiivin kohdalla suurin ero ei näin ollen ole käännös- ja supisuomen välillä, eikä muotoa voida sanoa esiintyvän käännössuomessa enemmän tai vähemmän kuin supisuomessa. Sen sijaan kiintoisaa on, että muodon suhteen on käännössuomessa huomattavan paljon hajontaa.

Sama pätee myös aineiston kolmanneksi yleisimpään muotoon, MA-infinitiivin illatiiviin. Muotoa esiintyy käännössuomessa toisaalta useimmin (TT1:ssä 785,6) ja toisaalta harvimmin (TT2:ssa 113,0), ja supisuomalaisten tekstien frekvenssit (NT1:ssä 247,6 ja NT2:ssa 196,7) sijoittuvat käännössuomalaisten tekstien välille.

Myös kunkin kirjan sisältämien infiniittisten muotojen yhteenlasketuissa frekvensseissä on kiintoisa ero. Supisuomen frekvenssit (NT1:ssä 1 155,6 ja NT2:ssa 1 377,0) ovat melko lähellä toisiaan, kun taas käännössuomen lukemien välillä on suuri ero: TT1:ssä frekvenssi on 2 469,1 ja TT2:ssa 1 355,9. Kokonaisesiintyvyydessä, kuten E-infinitiivin instruktiivin ja MA-infinitiivin illatiivin kohdallakin, suurin hajonta on siis nimenomaan käännöskielen sisällä.

Pääpiirteittäin reseptiaineiston infiniittisten muotojen frekvenssit ovat samansuuntaisia Ikolan ym. (1989) ja ISK:n (2004: § 1228) analysoiman yleiskielisen korpuksen kanssa. E-infinitiivin inessiiviä on yleiskielessä kuitenkin vähemmän: tämän tutkimuksen aineistossa 43,4 % ja yleiskielessä 16,1 % kaikista tässä tutkimuksessa tarkastelluista infiniittisistä muodoista. Toisaalta MA-infinitiivin illatiivi on yleisempi yleiskielessä: reseptikielen prosenttiluku on 21,8 ja yleiskielen 37,4. Erot näkyvät myös frekvensseissä: inessiivin frekvenssi on 658,8 resepteissä ja 229,9 yleiskielessä ja illatiivin 333,3 resepteissä ja 548,4 yleiskielessä.

5.2 Infiniittisten verbien kollokaatio- ja kolligaatiosuhteet

Taulukkoon 2 on koottu infiniittisten verbien kollokaattien määrät ja frekvenssit infiniittistä verbiä kohden sekä yhteenlaskettuina että etu- ja jälkiaseman mukaan jaoteltuina:

Taulukko 2. Infiniittisten verbien kollokaattien frekvenssit ja asema.

	NT1	NT2	NT:t	TT1	TT2	TT:t	Yht.
Infiniittiset verbi	28	21	49	44	24	68	117
Kollokaatit	35	28	63	38	30	68	131
Kollokaattien frekvenssi*	1,250	1,333	1,286	0,864	1,250	1,000	1,120
Etuasemaiset kollokaatit	21	21	42	28	25	53	95
Etuasemaisten kollokaattien frekvenssi*	0,750	1,000	0,857	0,636	1,042	0,779	0,812

Jälkiasemaiset kollokaatit	14	7	21	10	5	15	36
Jälkiasemaisten kollokaattien frekvenssi*	0,500	0,333	0,429	0,227	0,208	0,221	0,308

* infiniittistä verbiä kohden.

Infiniittisten verbien etuasemaiset eli ennen infinitiiviä esiintyvät kollokaatit ovat 2,6 kertaa niin yleisiä kuin jälkiasemaiset eli verbin jälkeen esiintyvät kollokaatit: edellisten frekvenssi on 0,812 ja jälkimmäisten 0,308 infinitiiviä kohden. Supi- ja käännössuomen frekvenssien välillä näkyy hienoisia eroja, mutta kollokaattien asettuminen etuasemaan on molemmissa huomattavasti jälkiasemaan asettumista yleisempää. Mielenkiintoista siis onkin, että englannin (myös englanninkielisen reseptikielen, ks. Nordman 1994: 67) taipumus jälkiasemaisiin täydennyksiin ja määritteisiin ei näyttäisi vaikuttaneen käännettyjen reseptien kollokaattien sijoittumiseen; tulokset eivät siis tue interferenssihypoteesia. Tämä on ristiriidassa Eskolan (2004: 94, 2005: 232) tulosten kanssa: hänen tutkimuksessaan jälkiasemaisten kollokaattien osuus kaikista kollokaateista oli suurempi käännössuomessa kuin supisuomessa.

Infiniittisten muotojen yleisin kolligaattityyppi on paikan adverbiaali, jonka etuasemaiset esiintymät muodostavat 19,8 % ja jälkiasemaiset 8,4 % kaikista kollokaateista. Toiseksi yleisin kolligaatti on ajan adverbiaali (15,3 % etu- ja 4,6 % jälkiasemaisista kollokaateista) ja kolmanneksi yleisin tavan adverbiaali (16,0 % etu- ja 1,5 % jälkiasemaisista kollokaateista). Nämä kolme kolligaattityyppiä muodostavat miltei 2/3 (65,6 %) kaikista kollokaateista ja esiintyvät tyypillisesti etuasemassa. Neljänneksi yleisin kolligaatti, objekti, sen sijaan esiintyy melko tasaisesti sekä etu- että jälkiasemassa: sen etuasemaiset esiintymät muodostavat 9,2 % ja jälkiasemaiset 8,4 % kaikista kollokaateista. Myös loput kolligaattityypit esiintyvät useammin etu- kuin jälkiasemassa; 72,5 % kaikista kollokaateista on etuasemaisia.

5.3 Kolme yleisintä infiniittistä muotoa

E-infinitiivin instruktiivi on aineiston yleisin infinitiivi: siitä koostuu 45,3 % kaikista etsityistä infiniittistä muodoista. Sen esiintymistä suurin osa (69,8 %, 37 kpl) käsittelee ainesosien sekoittamista; lopuilla ei ole yhtä yhtenäistä tekijää.

Ainesosien sekoittamista kuvailevista instruktiiveista miltei puolessa (48,6 %, 18 kpl) verbi on *sekoittaa*. *sekoittaen*-infinitiivin kanssa kollokoi usein etuasemainen tavan adverbi. Myös ajan adverbit kollokoivat sekoittamisen instruktiivien kanssa. NT1:ssä kaikkia näitä instruktiiveja

edeltääkin tavan tai ajan adverbiaali: *kevyesti*, *varovasti*, *koko ajan* tai *silloin tällöin*. Myös NT2:ssa sekoittamisen instruktiiveja edeltää aina vähintään yksi adverbiaali: tavan adverbi, ajan adverbi ja/tai välinettä ilmaiseva adessiivimuotoinen substantiivi, esimerkiksi *nuolijalla*.

Huomionarvoista siis on, että aineiston supisuomessa kaikkien sekoittamiseen liittyvien E-infinitiivin instruktiivien kanssa kolligoi etuasemainen adverbiaalimäärite. Näistä ajan adverbiaali on yleisin: sen frekvenssi etuasemassa instruktiivia kohden on 0,688. Tavan adverbiaalin frekvenssi on 0,250 ja välineen adverbiaalin 0,125. Käännössuomessa tavan adverbiaali on yleisin: sen frekvenssi etuasemassa on 0,556, ajan adverbiaalin 0,333 ja välineen adverbiaalin 0. Jälkiasemaisten kollokaattien frekvenssi on molemmissa varianteissa pieni, suurimmillaan 0,125. Aineiston adverbiaalimääritteet ilmaisevat, millä tavoin, kuinka usein tai millä välineellä leipojan tulee sekoittaa. Adverbiaalimäärite vaikuttaakin olevan tarpeellinen ja niin usein käytetty juuri siksi, että se antaa lisäohjeita sekoittamiseen ja tukee siten reseptien operatiivista tehtävää.

Aineiston toiseksi yleisin infinitiivi, E-infinitiivin inessiivi, muodostaa 24,8 % kaikista aineiston infiniittisistä muodoista. Sen frekvensseissä on merkittävä ero supisuomen ja käännössuomen välillä: edellisessä frekvenssi on 126,6 ja jälkimmäisessä 675,7. Lisäksi on havaittavissa kiintoisa ero inessiivin aktiivi- ja passiivimuotojen välillä: aktiivimuotoisia inessiivejä on supi- ja käännössuomessa suunnilleen saman verran, mutta passiivimuoto esiintyy käännössuomessa paljon supisuomea useammin; supisuomessa esiintymiä on kolme, käännössuomessa 19.

Koko aineistossa E-infinitiivin inessiivejä on 29, joista 14 – miltei puolet – on TT2:ssa. Esiintymien verrattain suuri määrä johtuu siitä, että TT2:ssa esiintyy seitsemästi virke, jossa *kokeilla*- ja/tai *painaa*-verbin inessiivi esiintyy 1–2 kertaa. Käännössuomen 19 passiivimuotoisesta inessiivistä 17:ssä onkin verbinä *kokeilla* tai *painaa*. Kaikkien *kokeiltaessa*- tai *painettaessa*-esiintymien yhteydessä toistuu sama rakenne, jossa infinitiiviä edeltää välineen, tavan ja/tai paikan adverbiaali ja/tai objekti. Aineistossa näissä tehtävissä esiintyvät esimerkiksi sanat *sormella*, *kevyesti*, *keskeltä* ja *kypsyyttä*.

Käännössuomessa E-infinitiivin inessiivin yleisin kolligaattityyppi onkin paikan adverbiaali, jonka frekvenssi etuasemassa on 0,417 infinitiiviä kohden. Toiseksi yleisin kolligaatti on välineen adverbiaali, jonka frekvenssi on 0,292, ja kolmanneksi yleisin tavan adverbiaali, jonka frekvenssi on 0,167. Supisuomen ainoat kolligaatit ovat sen sijaan objekti ja subjekti, joita on yksi kappale kumpaakin. Kiintoisaa on, että yksikään käännös- tai supisuomen kollokaateista ei esiinny jälkiasemassa; lähdekielen rakenteiden vaikutusta ei siis ole nähtävissä.

Käännössuomesta poiketen supisuomessa ei esiinny *kokeiltaessa*- tai *painettaessa*-muotoa. Itse asiassa resepteissä ei kuvailla kakun kypsyyden kokeilemista lainkaan – niissä mainitaan vain paistolämpötila ja -aika. Suomalaisten kääntäjäopiskelijoiden mukaan englanninkielisissä resepteissä esitetäänkin joskus huomattavasti tarkempi kuvaus kypsyyden määrittelemisestä kuin suomalaiseen kohdekulttuuriin sopisi (Pakkala-Weckström 2014: 334, 337). NT1:ssä on kuitenkin resepteistä erillinen luku, jossa kakun sopivan kypsyysasteen varmistaminen ilmaistaan välineen adverbiaaleina toimivilla substantiivilausekkeilla: *Tarkista pohjan kypsyys* ***ohuella puutikulla***, *varmenna kypsyys* ***sormien painalluksella***. Supisuomessa ei siis tässä tarkoituksessa esiinny E-infinitiivin inessiiviä tai muutakaan infiniittistä muotoa.

Aineiston kolmanneksi yleisin infinitiivi, MA-infinitiivin illatiivi, muodostaa 21,4 % aineiston kaikista infiniittistä muodoista. Sen frekvenssi supisuomessa on 228,0 ja käännössuomessa 450,5. Tarkemmin katsottuna tämä supi- ja käännössuomen välinen ero paljastuu kuitenkin käännetyn aineiston sisäiseksi vaihteluksi: illatiivin frekvenssi TT1:ssä on 785,6 ja TT2:ssa 113,0. Supisuomen aineistossa vaihtelu on pieni: frekvenssi on 247,6 NT1:ssä ja 196,7 NT2:ssa.

Suurin osa (76,2 %) MA-infinitiivin illatiiveista edustaa verbiä *jäähtyä*. Suurimman osan näistä esiintymistä voisi halutessaan korvata A-infinitiivin perusmuodon sisältävällä ilmauksella ”anna jäähtyä”. On siis mahdollista, että *jätä jäähtymään* -verbiketjun valintaan on vaikuttanut lähdeteksti; näin vaikuttaa olevan esimerkiksi TT1:ssä, jonka lähdetekstissä (Bell 2005) on ilmaus ”leave to cool” (kirjaimellinen suomennettuna ”jätä jäähtymään”). Tämä huomio siis tukee hypoteesia lähdetekstin ja -kielen interferenssistä ja lähdekielen piirteiden yliedustumisesta.

Yleisin MA-infinitiivin illatiivin kolligaattityyppi on paikan adverbiaali (esimerkiksi *jääkaappiin*), joiden frekvenssi supisuomessa on 0,889 ja käännössuomessa 0,188. Toiseksi yleisin kolligaatti on ajan adverbiaali (esimerkiksi *tunniksi*), joiden frekvenssi supisuomessa on 0,222 ja käännössuomessa 0,250. Miltei kaksi kolmasosaa kollokaateista on etuasemaisia: niiden frekvenssi on 0,520 ja jälkiasemaisten 0,280, ja käännössuomen illatiivien kollokaateista 66,7 % ja supisuomen kollokaateista 63,6 % esiintyy etuasemassa. Eskolan tuloksista (2004: 94) poiketen kollokaattien sijoittumisessa ei siis ole nähtävissä eroa kielivarianttien välillä.

Toisaalta kollokaattien yleisyydessä ilmenee merkittävä ero: supisuomessa kollokaattien frekvenssi illatiivia kohde on 1,222 ja käännössuomessa vain 0,563. Käännössuomessa onkin useita esiintymiä, joissa *jäähtymään*-verbillä ei ole määritteitä tai täydennyksiä. Supisuomessa taas jokaisella MA-infinitiivin illatiivilla on vähintään yksi määrite, joka antaa lukijalle lisätietoa muun muassa siitä, mihin

(*jääkaappiin*, *pellille*, *siivilään*) tai kuinka pitkäksi aikaa (*muutamaksi tunniksi*) leipomus on tarkoitus laittaa esimerkiksi *jäähtymään*, *paistumaan* tai *valumaan*.

6 Johtopäätökset

Pieni, manuaalisesti käsiteltävä aineisto ei luonnollisestikaan mahdollista yhtä pitkälle vietyjä johtopäätöksiä kuin laajat sähköiset korpukset. Joitain linjoja on aineistossa kuitenkin nähtävissä.

Infinitiivien kokonaisesiintyvyys oli käännössuomen aineistossa suurempi kuin supisuomessa, mikä myötäilee Puurtisen (1995, 2005) tuloksia. Toisaalta suuri osa käännössuomen infinitiiveistä on peräisin TT1:stä, ja TT2:n frekvenssi sijoittuu NT1:n ja NT2:n väliin. Näyttäisi siis siltä, että käännössuomen sisällä on enemmän hajontaa kuin supisuomessa. Lisäksi vaikuttaisi siltä, että kaikessa käännössuomessa ei olekaan enemmän infiniittisiä verbinmuotoja kuin supisuomessa. Toisaalta osassa käännössuomea infinitiivien frekvenssi poikkesi supisuomesta, mikä tukee hypoteesia käännöskielen epätyypillisistä frekvensseistä.

Puurtinen (2004: 168, 2005: 220) on esittänyt, että infiniittiset lausekkeet vaativat lukijalta enemmän tulkintaa kuin finiittiset lauseet. Tämän tutkielman aineistossa infinitiivien subjekti on kuitenkin hyvin helposti pääteltävissä, koska mahdollisia subjekteja ovat yleensä vain lukija (usein päälauseen subjekti) ja tämän käsittelemät ainesosat ja leivonnaiset (usein päälauseen objekteja), ja ajallisesti infiniittisen verbin teko on usein lähes yhtäaikainen päälauseen kanssa. Näin ollen voidaan ajatella, että reseptikielessä infinitiivit eivät välttämättä vaikeuta lukemista, jolloin niiden suuri määrä ei olisi eksplisiittisyyshypoteesin vastaista. Helposti tulkittavat infinitiivit eivät myöskään välttämättä vähennä tekstin yksinkertaisuutta. Toisaalta Eskola (2002: 81–82) on tulkinnut infiniittisten rakenteiden poikkeavat frekvenssit käännössuomessa kielen yksinkertaistumiseksi. Tämä tulkinta on mahdollinen myös reseptikielen poikkeavien frekvenssien suhteen, sillä esimerkiksi käännössuomessa yliedustuneet E-infinitiivin inessiivit olisi voitu korvata rakenteilla, joissa ei ole infiniittistä muotoa.

Aineistossa havaittu käännettyjen reseptien eksplisiittisyys saattaa johtua lähdetekstin ja mahdollisesti myös lähdekulttuurin konventioiden vaikutuksesta. Toisaalta on huomioitava, että vaikka suomen konventiot vaatisivat resepteihin kypsyyden varmistamiseen liittyviä ohjeita, tämä ei NT1:n infiniititttömien ratkaisujen perusteella välttämättä lisäisi infinitiivien määrää.

Analyysissa todettiin myös, että suurin osa reseptikielen infinitiivien kollokaateista sijoittuu etuasemaan sekä supi- että käännössuomessa eikä tässä siis ole nähtävissä lähdekielen interferenssiä, mikä poikkeaa Eskolan (2004: 94) tuloksista. Myös kolligaatiosuhteet osoittautuivat molemmissa kielivarianteissa hyvin samanlaisiksi.

Aineiston infiniittisten rakenteiden frekvenssit olivat pääpiirteittäin yhteneviä Ikolan ym. (1989) ja ISK (2004: § 1228) tarkasteleman yleiskielisen korpuksen kanssa. MA-infinitiivin illatiivi oli kuitenkin yleiskieltä harvinaisempi ja toisaalta E-infinitiivin instruktiivi yleiskieltä yleisempi. Aineiston pohjalta vaikuttaa siis siltä, että reseptikieleen on vakiintunut syntaktinen tendenssi, joka toisaalta suosii ja toisaalta hylkii tiettyjä infiniittisiä muotoja. Varsinkin sekoittamiseen liittyvät E-infinitiivin instruktiivit olivat yleisempiä reseptikielessä kuin yleiskielessä. Näiden infinitiivien pragmaattinen merkitys ilmenee niiden kollokaateissa, jotka antavat lukijalle tärkeää lisätietoa sekoittamisen tavasta, aikaväleistä ja välineistä.